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IN SEARCH OF THE ARCHBISHOP

By

PAUL HORGAN*

It might be well to start by making the acquaintance of the man for whom I search. I, who have lived since childhood under the spread of his luminous shadow, once identified him in these words:

> He was the first bishop and archbishop of Santa Fe, Juan Bautista Lamy. When he came to the [Rio Grande] in 1851 as vicar apostolic he found a sorry state of affairs. The nearest bishop had always been at Durango, fifteen hundred miles away . . . The population lacked not only for spiritual help but also for civilizing aids in other matters. There were no schools, no hospitals, no agency to provide a sense of the future to the young in terms of their rightful growth of mind and spirit. The churches were almost all in ruins. An immense task faced the young bishop. He attacked it with a sort of grave passion, and for the rest of his life he was to see grow under his touch a revived society that found its connection with the great world.
>
> He began his teaching at the simplest point of contact with his diocese —any point, across desert and mountain, which he could reach by going on foot or mounted on a burro or a horse. He travelled tens of thousands of miles in order to find his people and know their country. Finding and knowing these, he loved them, whether in a remote pueblo, a forgotten river town, or a mining camp. . . . His thoughts and deeds were woven

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* In 1955 Mr. Horgan won both the Bancroft Prize and the Pulitzer Prize for history with his two-volume work, *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (New York, 1954). The present paper was originally delivered as the presidential address at the forty-first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, New York, December 29, 1960.

in and out of the life of the river frontier like fine threads among coarse. He stood as a man of mind and spirit in a society of physical, often brutal, preoccupations. He represented knowledge and charity where all too often prevailed ignorance and self-interest . . . The Archbishop by his works seemed to anticipate the precept of a later teacher of his faith who said, "All our raw material of sanctity is in the now, just as it is."

So with the raw materials that he found he created the image of a life that had its design in the all-encompassing terms of his Christianity. His love of enlightenment came to show in the form of schools. He founded conventual academies in several cities all the way from Santa Fe to El Paso. He established a college in Santa Fe and led the citizens' support for New Mexico's first system of public education. His love of charity created the first hospital and orphanage in the Southwest, to which he gave up his own house. Where he had come to find nine poor and indifferent priests, in a few years he had over forty who strove to match his exquisite example of probity and dedication. He built eighty-five new churches, repaired the old ones and ended with almost a hundred and fifty altogether, including the cathedral of Santa Fe which he raised in the likeness of the romanesque temples of his native Auvergne. His good, clear sense of the world led him to do all he could to bring the railroad to Santa Fe and to foster the establishment of industry. He encouraged the slowly learning population to answer the call of new opportunities of work under new forms of commerce and to be provident with their honest gains. . . .

Not the least of his personal contributions to his people was his plain, tall presence among them. When he would walk about the plaza of Santa Fe, or ride into an earthen town on a burro, or step off an afternoon train at Albuquerque, or an early morning train at Las Cruces, he seemed to lift up every heart by his encompassing smile, that so wholly changed his gaunt face and deeply shadowed eyes. He was spare and weathered like any other plainsman, the worst of whose endurances and dangers he had learned for himself. There was no other way in which he could have come to grips with the great duty of his life, and the land that embraced it.

In 1875 when he was created archbishop the whole territory [of New Mexico] celebrated the honor with him—the plain citizenry, the government, the army, men of business and industry, the students in his colleges, and the Indians in their pueblos. Upon his death in 1888 he was mourned both as a humble missionary priest and as a creative citizen who by his double example gave to the severe land that he loved its first secure sense of the values that could not fail no matter how complex the world of the future might become.[1]

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[1] *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (New York, 1954), I, 865-867.

I first encountered him in the atmosphere—the special tone of Santa Fe. As a boy I moved from New York State to New Mexico with my father and mother and my brother and sister. We settled at Albuquerque, and soon formed the habit of spending the summers in the cooler, higher mountain capital. Though all this began about 1915, Santa Fe still seemed to me more like a place in the nineteenth century. There was a vast old scroll saw wooden hotel, and the streets away from the plaza were unpaved, and had no lights, even of gas, and citizens walked about like animated images out of stiff group photographs in faded sepia. The famous revival of "pueblo" or "Santa Fe" style of architecture was just beginning to make its effect against the prevailing red brick and gray wood of the territorial period, and what really seemed to me the true style of the city was something quite different. I did not really know what it was, but I saw it in the tall Mansard roof of St. Michael's College, and the Loretto Convent with its little Gothic chapel, and the long porches and whispering halls of St. Vincent's Hospital, and above all in the Cathedral of St. Francis. It was a French nineteenth-century air, and it seemed to me the most *characterizing* element of Santa Fe. These were the most prominent buildings, and in my youthful impression, they stood forth more importantly than the hillsides and lanes where small adobe houses sheltered most of the population—such houses as were called warrens for prairie dogs by early American travellers from the prairies, and as would in the twentieth century provide a whole new aesthetic in architecture for later settlers with developed sensibilities.

Even though our family habit of faith brought me regularly to the buildings I have mentioned, which must help me to explain why they impressed me to the exclusion of other claims upon my interest, I still did not know anything of the man, even his name, in whose image they stood.

But knowledge of him came to me from a family who possessed his memory. Among the new friends of my parents in Albuquerque were descendants of a pioneer Jewish family whose first members had come to Santa Fe in the prairie commerce. They were intelligent and hardworking, and worldly success came to them. They built a fine house on Palace Avenue in Santa Fe, and by their cultivation, grace, and energy, they contributed much to the isolated life of the old mountain capital. They knew everyone. One of their good friends was the Archbishop of Santa Fe, and I first heard his name from the daughter of the pioneer merchant. With her husband, a prominent wholesaler in Albuquerque, she would bring their family to the old Palace Avenue house at Santa Fe to escape the hot summers of Albuquerque. They used to invite me to visit them. I did so, to my immediate profit, for their household was *gemütlich* and even to my eyes comfort; and also to my later advantage, for the house became the setting of one of my novels, and the tradition of the archbishop was first given into my awareness there.

I cannot now recall any of the anecdotes which my charming and animated little hostess used to tell of Archbishop Lamy. She had seen him in her girlhood. It was taken for granted that he was often a guest in her father's house. He was the most famous man of Santa Fe, and to know him was cause for pride. The power and the charm of his memory came to me through the recollection of the lady who evoked him. Abrupt, impatient, and merciful in the face of my ignorance, she gave him to me. Who built the college? Archbishop Lamy. The convent and its chapel? The archbishop. The hospital? He. The cathedral? Who else? Loved trees and gardens so much that he gave away cuttings and seeds and saplings, and even on occasion went to plant young trees with his own hands for particular friends? Himself. Used to stop and talk to people every day walking in the plaza? Made many trips across the plains in wagons and even once had to fight Indians at a river crossing? Left when he died a feeling of deep sorrow not only among the people of his Church but in everyone else, too—those who knew what he had done for such a vast land, those in whose doorways he used to appear as a friend. She had seen him. I had not. Yet so I came to feel his quality and his effect, and ever afterward, when I went to the cathedral at Santa Fe, or walked along the long wall of the Bishop's Garden, or heard the angelus clapping its rings of sound over the city, he was somewhere behind my thought, my eye, my ear; and one day he would move me to vest him, however poorly, in my word.

But in this preoccupation I was anticipated by others. Without knowing it at the time, I one day intruded inadvertently upon the literary tradition of Archbishop Lamy. It was during the summer several years after my first view of Santa Fe. La Fonda, the modern hotel on the site of the first inn at the end of the Santa Fe Trail, has a number of balconies and porches which catch shadow and seclusion in the manner of the pueblo style with its little setbacks and terraces. One morning quite idly I went through a heavy panelled door leading to one such porch and knew at once that I must go away.

In the deepest corner of the porch were two steamer chairs, and upon them reclined two ladies whose concentration I disturbed. They were busy with papers and pencils. I have an impression of many accessories —notebooks, opened volumes, steamer rugs against the vagrant breezes which feel cool to someone out of the sun in Santa Fe, perhaps a thermos jar containing hot bouillon, possibly a fly whisk, and what else? If I invent it, it is because I have forgotten, and if I have forgotten it is because the nearer of the two ladies turned upon me a light blue regard of such annoyance and distaste at my intrusion that I was gone too quickly to take more than a sweeping impression of where I had been. But I was there long enough to recognize that it was Miss Willa Cather whom I had interrupted at work with her secretary, and I was already so devoted to her work that my chagrin rose equal to my respect. Decades later, and myself the victim of countless interruptions of my own working situations, I know acutely what it may have cost Miss Cather to recover through deep breaths in the mind that wonderful, removed, beautifully lost sense of utmost communion with one's subject which every artist must develop for himself every time he works, and which I had shattered for her.

What was she working on that morning? I did not know, and I cannot now say, but a year later her novel about Juan Bautista Lamy was published. She called it *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.[2] When I saw her that day—it was the only time I ever saw her and I always regretted that I never had the opportunity to tell her how sorry I was for my transgression—she was working only a hundred yards from his cathedral, whose humble beauties she was the first to recognize. I remember the eagerness and excitement with which I awaited my first edition copy of her Lamy novel in the following year, 1927.

Miss Cather's book was the second in which the archbishop played a leading role. The first, a factual work entitled *The Life of the Right Reverend Joseph A. Machebeuf, D.D.*,[3] reproduced letters by this first Bishop of Denver, and in many of these Archbishop Lamy figured large. The two men had come from France to America as young missioners together, and their lives followed ever after a closely knit course. In his letters home to France, and particularly to his sister, a nun in the convent of the Visitation at Riom, Monsignor Machebeuf spoke often of his friend, Father, and later Bishop, and yet later Archbishop Lamy.

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[2] New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1927.

[3] This biography by William J. Howlett was published in Pueblo, Colorado, in 1908.

Out of these references rose the portrait of a man. How is it that some men and women above others always in even the slightest contact at even great distance give to us an immediate sign of their presence and their meaning upon this earth? Lamy was such a one. There was nothing in the least spectacular about him, and yet his simplest gesture opens him to us, and us to ourselves. So it was with the Machebeuf letters. Lamy lived in them at second hand, at one remove, as it were, yet with sufficient vitality and effect to command the interest and even the love of later readers.

For, as she tells us in an essay about how she came to write her Lamy novel,[4] Miss Cather found her major and almost her entire inspiration for that attractive novel in the book which Father William J. Howlett of Denver put together out of the Machebeuf letters. In this sense, Father Howlett was the first Lamy scholar, and to him all other searchers after the archbishop owe all respect and gratitude.

I saw my first copy of his book during my tenure as librarian of a school in New Mexico. It was bound in now-faded purple cloth which was meant, I suppose, to suggest the royal color of the episcopate. The book was, of course, a rarity. It had come into the collection over which I presided through the gift of a patron. I was never one of those librarians who say that they have no time to read. I read many and certainly skimmed all of the books which entered our accessions. I read Father Howlett on Machebeuf and rediscovered Lamy. I was already the author of ten or twelve books, and everything, all day long, seemed to me, as it still does, the stuff of which books must surely be made. Lamy, secure in fiction through the gentle intuitions of Miss Cather, presented me with immediate and wonderfully vague and strongly potential notions for a work about him in another form than the novel. I made tentative notes. I sketched outlines and designs, in search of the perfect vessel of form in which to pour the flow of his life. I shall not here discuss what these were—some of these notes still contain life, and the power to work alive in me every time I look at them the impulse to develop them further. They must, therefore, abide in silence until I am ready and able to use them. Any writer will know how priceless such notes are, for in contrast to such, many others, once set down with excitement and love, fade with time into inanity, and might as well be thrown away for all the good they are.

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[4] *On Writing* (New York, 1949), "On *Death Comes for the Archbishop,*" pp. 3-13.

With other books taking form, I still kept Archbishop Lamy in the forefront of my thought and feeling, and when I went to Santa Fe one time in the late 1930's, I paid a call upon his long later successor, the Most Reverend Rudolf A. Gerken. Our conversation soon came around to Lamy, and His Excellency asked me if I would like to see the room in which Lamy died. It was a beautiful chance to feel the immediate atmosphere of my subject—observe how possessive one becomes in literary terms—and I went with Dr. Gerken to a large, square, lofty room at the rear of the episcopal residence on Cathedral Place. It contained a tall walnut bookcase with glass doors which was filled with books. Were these Lamy's books? Nobody knew. I looked upward. Where wall and ceiling met was a molding in pressed plaster consisting of small angelic heads—cherubim. They seemed to smile forth a silent anthem. Some movement of the senses gave me a pang for the past, and a resolution for the present. I felt the actuality of Archbishop Lamy in his old room where, on a narrow bed in the corner, he died, in pain, and at peace, on a snowy morning of 1888.

The present Archbishop of Santa Fe, the Most Reverend Edwin Vincent Byrne, whom I met several years later, after World War II, also suffered my interest in Juan Bautista Lamy. But he did more. More than anyone else, he fostered it, and presently, with his strong and persuasive encouragement, my abiding but formless hope of one day preparing a work about Lamy gathered new energy, and I soon knew what I wanted to attempt.

Archbishop Byrne has a very keen sense of history and a most devoted regard for the place in history of the Metropolitan See of Santa Fe. When I petitioned him for access to whatever archival materials might be held at Santa Fe concerning Lamy, he took me to the vaults of his chancery and indicated the folios which had just been catalogued by my old friend and colleague, Fray Angelico Chavez, O.F.M. Whatever was there he would open to me. Archbishop Byrne searchingly tested my seriousness and my devotion in the matter. A man of extraordinary spirituality, he sobered me with the intensity and the rectitude of his desire that nothing but the best and most devoted effort was to be brought to bear on the project of a biography of his beloved predecessor. He gave me a sense almost of vocation in how I must approach the task.

Once given, the effect of a solemn blessing survived, without in any way excluding the most adventurous and worldly aspects of how research may be managed. Archbishop Byrne was profuse with suggestions and advice on where to look elsewhere for material, and in more than one interview he shored up my resolutions with expressions of confidence and gratification in my undertaking. By taking it seriously long before anything like a body of material was gathered, he gave the project reality for me, and soon I was able to propose it to my publishers. These gentlemen responded immediately with a contract. All, they indicated, that I had to do was to respond, in turn, with a completed manuscript. The project was launched.

It would have to mature slowly toward the point of completion in finished text. It has been my experience with historical materials that they cannot be arbitrarily brought into use. If they are to belong beautifully to an appropriate form of statement, then they must create that form rather than have that form imposed upon them. In dealing with history I have always felt that the historian should try, however far he may fail, to create a work of art in his book. I am reminded of a remark of the late Bernard Berenson who while discussing the view that history is a science did not agree. "It is," he said, "an art which must not neglect the known facts."

I have said on an earlier occasion[5] not unrelated to my own effort as an historian that it always seems to me that historical materials which I intend to use must sink deep into my subconscious possession, and then in a due course which cannot be hurried I must call them to mind almost as if I were inventing them, but without in the smallest particular departing from the perfect truth so far as I could see it. In this process, then, the literary form of my work would find its most natural beauty, and so sustain my interest in the task of shaping a narrative in the twin images of truth and of art.

Hoping to advance this process in search of the archbishop, I called on the eminent Jesuit man of letters, Father Philip Caraman, during a visit to England in 1955. His American confrère, Father Harold C. Gardiner, to whom I owe so much as a writer in the United States, had sent me to him. I discussed with Father Caraman my hope of going to Rome to find documents in the collection of the Holy See which would bear upon Lamy's career. Soon enough we were talking about one of the great obstacles which lay across my path.

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[5] Speech of acceptance on receiving the Bancroft Prize in History for *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History*, at Columbia University, April 28, 1955.

This was what is informally called "the hundred-year rule." This rule is a long-standing policy of the Church which for perfectly good reasons of administrative responsibility and discretion denies access to archival materials which are less than a hundred years old. One had heard rumors here and there of rare—extremely rare—exceptions granted under the rule, but what good were rumors, and what was a rule for anyway if it were broken? A swift and anguished calculation revealed the effect which the hundred-year rule must have upon my pursuit of Lamy's papers. He died in 1888. Under the rule I must be denied access in 1955 to any papers dated after 1855. The last thirty-three, the most active and fruitful years of the archbishop's life would be closed to me, if, indeed, these were touched upon in the Roman archives. I did not even know whether papers covering this period existed—but if they did, and if I could not study them, what a blow to my project.

Father Caraman did not know either, but he was wholly aware of the acuteness of my problem. If I were soon going to Rome, as I then planned to do, it would be well for me to have help in informed quarters there. Father Caraman urged me to write to an historian in his Society at Rome, and to describe my hopes and the difficulties which I anticipated in their fulfillment.

Accordingly, from London, I wrote to Father Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., at the Institute of Jesuit History in Rome. Within a week or so came a kind and explicit reply, saying that the established difficulties were all too real, and that they were grave. Still, if I were coming to Rome, something might be undertaken. The writer would do whatever he could to help, and the hospitality of his Society's house was extended to me. Meanwhile, he concluded, had I thought of consulting the collection of books and papers belonging to Bishop Laurence J. FitzSimon, of Amarillo, in my search for Lamy materials?

I gasped. This seemed to me a positively virtuoso performance in the tradition of that omniscience in affairs with which the members of the Society of Jesus had been credited for centuries by a repeatedly astonished world. A Jesuit father writing from Rome to a New Mexican in London commending to him an historical collection in Texas which was to be seen only 200 miles from his hometown across the world! I was, obscurely, shamed for not having known about all this on my own, and, therefore, I was inclined to dismiss what, to my graceless temper, looked like a piece of scholarly swank. Matters required me to return to the United States without going to Rome, and the farthest thing from my mind was the suggestion that Amarillo, Texas, could possibly harbor anything I might want to use. Let me in humility hasten to say that this part of the story had an ending happier than I deserved.

Meanwhile, my widening vision of Archbishop Lamy's life took me to the Auvergne, that region of France's most ancient Roman history, where he was born, and which he left in 1839 to go to Ohio as a young missioner, along with his friend and schoolmate, Joseph Machebeuf. In Clermont-Ferrand, the seat of a bishop, where in Roman times Vercingetorix held the phalanxes of Caesar at bay, I looked for the archbishop in the records of the chancery. An old and earnest priest-secretary undertook to help me in the bishop's office, which I found in an old gray stone house in an old, narrow, cobblestoned, twisting, dark street. "Who?" he said. "Jean Baptiste Lamy, the first Archbishop of Santa Fe, in New Mexico, which is one of the United States," I replied, certain that this son of the Auvergne must be a great hero to later churchmen there. The secretary was polite but could not conceal his bafflement. He had never heard of him. I gave a few particulars, and he nodded into his folded fingers, searching his memory. In a moment his old pink face and clear blue eyes lighted up with an idea and he told me to wait. He went briskly to the next room, and for the next many minutes I heard fascinating obscure sounds such as might be made by a large and industrious mouse expertly at work on loose papers. Then I heard a bronchial little cry of satisfaction, and the secretary returned to me with a copy of *La Semaine Religieuse,* the diocesan weekly. It was an issue of 1888, containing the necrology of Monsignor Lamy. Delightedly the secretary showed it to me. It was the key to all. He saw there that Monsignor Lamy was born at Lempdes, eleven kilometres from Clermont-Ferrand. He gave me the name of the curé of Lempdes, and sent me to see him.

I drove into the open, serene landscape of the region, where tilled fields and low hills reached away to hazy mountains, among which loomed highest the grand hump of the Puy-de-Dôme. Lempdes is a small village of winding lanes and close houses, plastered in the sandy color of the local earth. I was oddly put in mind of Santa Fe. At a far end of the village I found the curé in his house. Now I was in some diffidence for the assumption I had held about the fame of my archbishop, and my first words to the curé were, "Father, does the name of Jean Baptiste Lamy mean anything to you?" "But naturally," he replied, "we pray for him every Sunday." Suddenly I felt that I had come home.

Whereupon, the curé, hearing of my purpose, gave me many good things. I saw and made notes from documents in his custody. He showed me the village church which when it was rebuilt in the 1870's was reconsecrated by Archbishop Lamy on a visit home from America. We paused at the little shrine of Our Lady of Good News, where Lamy as a little boy made special and continuous devotions. The curé took me about the village and introduced me to a surviving grandniece of the archbishop in the earthen courtyard of her house and barn. The village has probably not changed from Lamy's time. In the beautiful, grave, dark-eyed children of Lempdes in the clay streets, at play with kittens and puppies where no traffic came to make them scamper, I believed I saw the essential truth of the archbishop's childhood environment.

In the village and in Clermont-Ferrand I made several water color drawings—a process by which for years I have fixed for myself my impressions of scene and spirit of place for later reference in historical writing. I entered several churches numbered among the earliest Romanesque structures in France, and saw in their dark and arched massivity the original grandeurs and simplicities which Lamy sought to recall in his cathedral of Santa Fe. I saw the seminary which he attended and which could be called the architectural parent of old St. Michael's College in Santa Fe, and I went to Riom to see where Joseph Machebeuf had come from. I was far away from New Mexico —as far as Lamy, in New Mexico, had been from the Auvergne. Some arc of historical vision found for me its ends in both places. Another whole world of reference in the archbishop's life had now been opened out for me. With much stored for the future, I returned to the United States to work on a book more immediately in hand.

Two years later I had occasion to be driving westward in winter. It had been for years my insensitive habit to pass rapidly through Amarillo, Texas, and my first impulse was to do so now. What could detain me? Old advices from Rome to London advising me to search for Lamy in the Texas Panhandle? I was not persuaded, and New Mexico called. Still, with an air of conscious virtue I reminded myself that to an historian in search of fact no lead could be too unlikely to pass by. I, therefore, must linger in Amarillo to follow the suggestion of Father Burrus. I telephoned to the episcopal residence of Amarillo and after a long wait I heard the voice of Bishop FitzSimon on the wire. I stated my mission. There ensued a conversation curiously hesitant, I thought, on his part, increasingly doubtful on mine. I began to feel that I must be unwelcome, and, perhaps, actively intrusive. But at length he asked, "How long do you plan to be in Amarillo?"

"I would gladly stay as long as necessary if there is any possibility that Your Excellency can see me." A long pause. Then, with a sigh, "All right. Come here at eight o'clock tonight."

At eight I was received by a small, prim, decorous housekeeper who took me to a large parlor. She was assisted by a white, smooth-haired mongrel dog whose right front leg had been amputated. He responded to my petting with an ecstatic smile and a twist of his plump torso. I had only a moment to wait until my host entered the far end of the parlor. The bishop came forward, limping. He carried one of his hands in the other. He moved with trouble and courage. His face was keenly marked by intelligence and suffering. His hair was silvery gray. He was slender. He wore a dark gray coat-sweater of fine stitch, a fine Italian sport shirt in dark stripes, dark trousers, and his episcopal ring. He greeted me kindly and took me to his study, a room lined in books and panelling. There, speaking with hesitancy which he tried to control, he explained almost at once that he had recently recovered from a paralytic stroke. Some acts were still difficult for him. What I had thought to be reluctance on the phone was actually a triumph over rebellious organs of speech. My compunction was great. His warmth was moving.

Then to work. He had spent hours since my phone call going through the index cards of his historical papers and books, and he had compiled a mass of references for me to examine. His eyes lighted up with the love of the scholar for raw material, and into his weary voice came a youthful eagerness. He was superbly informed in the period and place of my subject. We talked for two hours or more. His cheeks grew hot and showed color. He fed me with the very bread of inspiration. I was voracious. My questions were incessant and demanding. He replied with enthusiasm.

Suddenly I saw that he was dreadfully pale. I had exhausted his meagre resources of convalescent strength. Hoping that I did not reveal my concern for his frailty I jumped up to go. "Yes," he said, "I tire easily and suddenly. You must excuse me now. But come back tomorrow morning and make whatever notes you like." Full of fearful hope that I had not harmed the bishop with my exhausting demands, I left him. On my way to a lodging I felt also an abashed gratitude for the wisdom and generosity of Father Burrus, at Rome. Father Burrus, like his fellow societarians, had known exactly what he was talking about. For I had found in Amarillo not only a gold mine of material for my purposes but also, I hoped, a rare new friend in Bishop FitzSimon. And so he proved.

I returned the following day and found him rested and eager to open his filing cabinets for me. We spent the morning, we lunched, we worked in the afternoon. His references were excellent—so excellent that at one moment I turned to him and said, "Sir, you have so much here about Archbishop Lamy, so well organized, that I am troubled by a fear." "What is that, Mr. Horgan?" "Am I intruding on plans of your own to work on a biography of the archbishop? I would not trespass for the world . . ." "Not at all," he replied. "The book I was working on all these years was the life of Bishop Jean Marie Odin, of Galveston. When I was doing my research on him, I kept coming across material on Lamy. I took notes every time on him, thinking they might some day be of use to somebody else."

Saying this, he gazed at me very directly with his clear, gray eyes. He all but said aloud, ". . . and you are that somebody." If I here claim this interpretation, it is because he went on to say that he had denied access to his materials to any number of applicants before me. It happened that he had known of me before I telephoned him. Now it seemed to him that I should have his help. Both humbled and excited by my good fortune I vowed to justify if I could the confidence which the Bishop of Amarillo showed me. We returned to work on his files.

A year later I saw him again. This time he insisted that I stay at his house. I had already taken a room at a motel. He instructed me to check out and move my things to a corner room upstairs in the episcopal residence. His personal chapel was on the same floor. It was a privilege and I accepted with a full sense of its rarity. Then followed more hours of good study in his upstairs library, and meals, served by Miss Lily Linhart, the housekeeper, in her devoted worry. The bishop's health was better, and his droll, crisp humor played freely, making his conversation doubly delightful to me as we developed a closer and deeper acquaintance. We discussed future stages of my search.

"I'm planning," I said, "to make the same journey which Archbishop Lamy made from Santa Fe to Durango, Mexico, in 1851. I want to go at the same time of year—autumn—so I can see the landscape more or less as he saw it. I hope to make some water color sketches to hold my impressions." I think I must have sounded rather satisfied with the degree of my scholarly care for the physical truth of my subject. His Excellency deflated me with one of his inexpressibly droll and sardonic observations. "I trust," he said, with a rising inflection which made a mock marvel of my intrepid intention, "I trust you will also ride a burro all the fifteen hundred miles, as the archbishop did?" I was chastened. "No, sir," I replied, "I'm afraid I'll be making the trip in a modern, high-powered automobile." Bishop FitzSimon closed the lesson by saying, "Don't you think you should spend at least *one* night out on the ground, as he did?"

I asked his help in another matter, for he read and corrected a biographical essay I wrote about Lamy for publication by Father Caraman in *The Month,* in England, and by Bruce Catton, in *American Heritage,* in this country.[6] He told me of his early life, and said with truculence meant to amuse that he was the only member of the hierarchy who could brag that he was a gob in the United States Navy in World War I. We pored over his most treasured volumes, and he seated me beside him at a school play where he had to make a front-row appearance, and in response to my request for a memento, he gave me one of his red-violet silk birettas and a signed photograph of himself. He began to call me by my first name. He gave stature to my work by his interest and help. At the end of my second visit he permitted me to look forward to a third. Before this could be, he died.[7] His own book on his early bishop was never written. I shall hope to serve him as well as I can in mine, remembering his high standard of historical truth and human grace.

I read as a lecture the biographical essay at St. Francis Auditorium of the Museum of New Mexico as a benefit performance for the Santa Fe Opera, in the summer of 1958. At this event Archbishop Byrne occupied a seat of honor in the front row. Afterward he spoke to me and confirmed his interest in my pursuit of the biography, and advised me to go to the University of Notre Dame for materials; for he knew that in the last decades of the nineteenth century a librarian of Notre Dame with a keen interest in history had gathered from many chancelleries across the nation a considerable collection of diocesan archives including some dealing with Archbishop Lamy.[8]

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[6] "Jean Baptiste Lamy. First Archbishop of Santa Fe," *The Month,* XVIII (October, 1957), 203-214; (November, 1957), 282-292; "Churchman of the Desert," *American Heritage,* VIII (October, 1957, 30-35;) 99-101.

[7] Bishop FitzSimon died on July 2, 1958.

In due course I followed Archbishop Byrne's guidance and at Notre Dame I spent a profitable month as a guest of the university, working in the archives maintained so expertly by Father Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. One of the letters of Archbishop Lamy which I read referred to a mitre which he had been asked to send to Notre Dame for inclusion as a memento in the treasure of the university church. Evidence indicated that the mitre had been sent. I went to Father McAvoy with the story and asked if the mitre could be seen. It was not long before he put it into my hands.

It was the first possession which I knew for certain to have belonged to the archbishop, and I touched it with full respect. He had worn it in various performances of his august duties. It was of cloth of gold lined in scarlet silk. It told me, of course, of a bishop's status and authority, that great living link with Christ through the apostolic succession. And it told me more, of a more humble, intimate, and immediate significance, for by the size of the headband it told me the dimension of the archbishop's cranium, which was larger than that of most men. With this humble fact, and by thoughtful scrutiny of his faded photographic portraits, I was able by one more impression, however incomplete, to summon his presence before my mind's eye.

I sought him among the living, but how few, in mid-twentieth century, were there alive who had seen him. One was an old lady in Santa Fe who was the adopted daughter of his nephew. She had seen him in her childhood, and she remembered one day when he came to call on her as she lay abed with some childhood illness. She was terrified, he was a great man, an archbishop, and she pulled the covers over her head. And then, gradually, he made her lose her fear and speak to him happily. It was tender and appealing, this scene, but it was conventional, and it was sparse. Whom to ask elsewhere about him? I saw a piece in a newspaper about a priest who in his ninety-ninth year was living in retirement at Mount Saint Rafael Hospital in Trinidad, Colorado. His name was Father Joseph S. Garcia and —here my interest was shocked alive—he had been personally chosen for the priesthood by Archbishop Lamy, who had sent him off to the seminary, and who had brought him back to New Mexico to work in the parish of Las Vegas. Father Garcia was the only living being who, not as a child but as a grown man, had seen the archbishop. Within a day I was travelling by car from Santa Fe to Trinidad in beautiful mountain winter weather hoping I could confront Father Garcia.

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[8] For an account of the origin of the Notre Dame manuscript collections cf. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., "Manuscript Collections Among American Catholics," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXVII (October, 1951), 281-295.

By good fortune the chaplain of the hospital was a young Irish priest who was a most cultivated man. He understood my interest at once and the importance to me of hearing from Father Garcia, if he could talk to me, whatever he might recall about the archbishop. With utmost tact, with a chaffing tenderness for the extraordinary tiny ancient priest who was still clear in mind and tidy in person, Father Reid arranged with Father Garcia to receive me. Little kind deceptions were necessary in order to spare Father Garcia the effort of trying too hard to be a satisfactory exhibit as a piece of living history. I had rather more than an hour with him and gradually he found his ease among memories from the time eight decades ago when he had been put to work by Archbishop Lamy. I heard an old voice, clear and remote and dry like the whisper of autumn leaves when stirred by an idle wind from faraway, speak of the archbishop's presence. I took my leave with a sense of returning to the present. I rejoice to report that Father Garcia has not only lived to celebrate the votive Mass of Our Lady on his one hundredth birthday, but that he passed his 101st birthday on October 28 and is still living in comfort at Trinidad.

The vision of the biographer is necessarily bi-focal. He must train one lens on the distant aspects of his subject, composing all parts in a general clarity and harmony. And he must train the other on aspects so near that at moments he must believe that he sees the very interior of his subject's experience and nature. Common sympathy goes far, of course, toward establishing this intimate entry into detail. Yet beyond this, there may come necessities of pursuit which will take the biographer into the deepest well of vicarious experience in order to understand a certain detail.

Such a necessity was mine as I contemplated the fact that Lamy was a bishop consecrated in the most august of heritages—the apostolic succession. The Church in electing and marking a man for the episcopate surrounds the event of his consecration with a glory, a power, and a weight of ritual whose solemnity gives outward form to the majesty and sacredness of the inner fact of the consecration. This inner fact is none other than the transmittal of authority and responsibility from the hands of Christ through the hands of Peter and the hands of all bishops thereafter in the Holy Roman Apostolic Church.

The moment would come in my narrative of Bishop Lamy's life when his consecration must be referred to, described, or even possibly explained for the reader. Surely the direct experience of such consecration must be one of the most profoundly affecting which any man can know. In order to explain it properly, I wanted to come as close as possible to the act of consecration, in something more than a spectator's participation from a remote place in the nave. I wanted to know as nearly as I could *how it felt* to become a bishop, if intimate observation could make up for all that I lacked in training, vocation, and direct experience in the matter.

It was a midwinter day in New York when I learned that the Cardinal Archbishop of New York would soon consecrate as bishop the Rector of St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie. If I could manage to gain admittance, perhaps, I could come to a place near enough to the ceremonies to allow me to make some rapid drawings in wash and water color of what I observed. By the act of concentration needed to make a graphic record of an event as it passed I would in some degree enter as a participant into the meaningful spectacle which I must see.

But, perhaps, there would be quite proper official objections to my course. I consulted a member of the staff of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Father, now Monsignor, Charles J. McManus. So soon as he heard my general purpose and my particular hope, he moved to facilitate all. He instructed me to be on hand at the cathedral a half-hour before the ceremonies were to begin on the stated morning. I would be permitted to make my little drawings provided I remained inconspicuous. The night before the day of consecration Father McManus left at my hotel up the avenue a printed copy of the liturgy of the occasion so that I might familiarize myself with it in advance. I was as impressed by his thoroughness as I was moved by his consideration.

Of these I had ultimate demonstrations on the following morning when I came to the cathedral. Father McManus was waiting for me at nine o'clock before the main sanctuary. He conducted me to a place just outside the chancel screen on the gospel side of the high altar. There an airy system of carved wood gothic arches gave perfect visibility upon the sanctuary while marking it apart formally. In juxtaposition to one of those arches a small tribune had been erected, with three sides curtained by a green cloth, while the fourth side was open to the chancel. I could see all without being seen. A chair was placed for me to use.

I hardly touched it in the three hours of splendor which followed, while two cardinals, with innumerable other prelates and clergy, witnessed and sealed the elevation of the Most Reverend John M. Fearns to the purple, and two choirs sang in antiphon, and gestures repeated through 2,000 years vested a man and his spirit in the modern world with the unaltered powers of that apostleship upon which the occasion rested.

Equipped with my little bottles of clear water to use with my very small pans of color, and with a another little bottle containing an india ink wash, and wielding pen and brush over my bound sketch book, I made many drawings. Whatever their interest as drawings, which must be slight, their existence is for me a testimony of the motion and the style which were released in the act of creation whereby a priest at New York in December, 1957, and another priest—my priest, John B. Lamy, as he was then known in Ohio—at Cincinnati in November, 1850, both received the mitre. It would require an imagination dulled by the dusty seductions of pedantry not to be moved by the analogy here contained.

And now, with this indication of one of the large aspects at the heart of my subject, I must let the chronicle of my search lapse into silence. I must do so in honor of one of the most delicate suspensions which an author ever knows in the process of bringing together all the elements of his book.

My quest took me into further adventures, some rewarding, others disappointing; but in either case, all so intimately united with the very process of my work that I cannot further describe the search without endangering that which is not yet ready to be published. In the preparation of every book there are periods of touch and go, when the live thread of the subject, precarious at all times in the imagination, could be fatally severed by an incautious pull beyond its strength to bear. Such a pull occurs to us when we are tempted, as I am now, to luxuriate in the delights of discovery and synopsis, in order to show you what a beautiful work I have planned, and how the more recent of my acts of search for my subject may have given me riches which could create the very fabric of my story. But in all respect for the task upon which I have more work and time to spend, and which must be kept alive at its most generative force within the imagination, I must resist the desire to take my listener and my reader any farther with me now. I must hope that when my work is finished and the final phases of my search are there revealed in their proper places my present restraint will be justified.

It now remains to continue my search for the archbishop within myself, that I may understand his times, recapture his image, and at last find words to give him a second life for those who may read the pages I hope to write.

Roswell, New Mexico

RICHARD DERING, CATHOLIC MUSICIAN OF STUART ENGLAND

By

Sister Joseph Damien Hanlon*

Too often the impact of the Counter Reformation upon England has been viewed by historians mainly in the light of tensions and disturbances played upon the exciting stage of Elizabethan politics. Unfortunately, this has led to indifferent examination of the far more significant and dynamic force of that great Catholic offensive, emanating from both the Mediterranean area and Flanders, upon every facet of English Catholic life occurring in the early seventeenth century. The burgeoning of the post-Tridentine world in England took place with greater rapidity, and in a more diversified and permanent mold. In a Stuart atmosphere grown more tolerant of the dissidents, religion exercised no strong deterrent to the highest favor, particularly where talents of an intellectual, or artistic, nature were involved. The arts flourished under the benign interest of both James I and his son Charles, and their queens, Anne and Henrietta Maria. Court patronage collected the cream of the artistically blessed, closely followed by the generous patronage of the Villiers family and the Arundels. The monarchs, intent upon attracting the best, were oblivious and indifferent to the religious bent of their protégés, even when they were known Catholics, like Ben Jonson, the Beaumonts, Sir Toby Mathew, Sir Kenelm Digby, Wat Montagu, Richard Dering, and a host of others—or probable Catholics, like Inigo Jones. Tolerance and talent united to bring England into the main stream of post-Tridentine art forms and ideals. Close study of one such artist, Richard Dering, clearly demonstrates many factors in this widening impact of the Counter Reformation upon the English scene, and in its ultimate dissemination among large circles of Englishmen, Catholic and Protestant.

A quiet bachelor's existence, dedicated to music and the utilization of his composer's talents for the Catholic Church, spells out the fairly brief life span, c. 1580-1630, of Richard Dering. Devoted as he was to dual interests, he spent many years abroad in pursuit of both; for his music he went to Italy to study, while his religion brought him to the Spanish Netherlands for a brief period as organist to a convent of English Benedictine nuns. It was a fortunate time in which to live, for Dering's years in Europe furnished direct contact with the revolutionary post-Tridentine changes in music under the inspiration of Gabrieli, Schütz, and Monteverdi. The time was equally favorable for company among musically talented English co-religionists like John Bull, William Byrd, Peter Philips, and Martin Peerson. It is not at all unlikely that Dering was acquainted with all of the "greats" of the day. Certainly his music showed the effects of living in Italy and in Brussels in their time.

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Unfortunately, due to fragmentary and not wholly accurate contemporary documentation,[1] it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of Dering's early life. Until recently all biographers[2] have accepted Wood's premise that Dering was born a Catholic and educated as a child in Italy. Several years ago Peter Platt deduced from some documentary evidence and the logic of Dering's musical development the theory that he was not born a Catholic, but was converted in Italy about 1612, and that his early education was in all probability in England, not abroad as was previously thought.[3]

Richard was born into the comfortable environment of a land-owning family of means. His great-grandfather, Nicholas Dering of Petworth, acquired lands in Hampshire before 1537, but added to them considerably by purchase and exchange of some of his Sussex property with Henry VIII, profiting, as did so many others, by the king's sale of monastic lands. Some of the most important of the

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[1] Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis,* edited by Philip Bliss (London, 1813), I, para. 337 was Dering's first biographer and his account is inaccurate; e.g., Wood says Dering was still living at the time of the "Great Rebellion" whereas we have his registered will dated 1630, Somerset House, Scroope Papers, 34.

[2] Frederick Bridge, *Twelve Good Musicians* (London, 1920); e.g., Jeffrey Pulver, *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (London, 1927).

[3] Peter Platt, "Richard Dering," (unpublished dissertation, Department of Music, University of Oxford, 1952). Mr. Platt of the University of Sydney, Australia, has kindly allowed me the use of his own copy of this manuscript; cf. also his article "Richard Dering's Life and Training," *Music and Letters,* XXXIII (January, 1952), 41-49, and the article by Platt on Dering in Friedrich Blume, *Die Musick in Geschichte und Gegenwart; allgemeine Enzyklopaedie der Musick,* III (1954), 202-203. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1955), II, 671, accepts his thesis for its revised article on Dering.

Dering property was that of Liss Turmey, which had belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester, and the Mapledurham Manor (in the parish of Buriton, near Petersfield) formerly the property of the Prior of St. Swithun's, Winchester.[4] As Richard was an illegitimate child, the boy probably lived with the Bolds of Nursted and Buriton, Petersfield, for Henry Dering's married sister would be an obvious choice as guardian to the boy.[5]

Here young Richard lived in close proximity to a number of notable recusant families, among them distant relatives of the Derings, the Cottons, holding estates at Bedhampton and Warblington. Three members of this family spent long periods in jail.[6] The Shelleys, who held the manor of West Mapledurham, adjacent to the Dering estate, were also an important recusant family, connected (as was so often the case among this harried minority group in England) with the Cottons by marriage alliances.[7] Richard was undoubtedly a frequent visitor at their homes, especially as the Cotton family had ten children, and the Shelleys also had a number. Other near neighbors, and recusants, who forfeited lands and paid heavy fines were Stephen Vachell of Heath House, Mr. Chideoch Tichbourne, and the Martin Croucher family.[8] Richard Dering thus grew up in a heavily Catholic neighborhood in Hampshire, a factor which certainly played a part in his future conversion.

While Italy was the center for serious musical training, it is fairly certain that Richard, originally intending no career in music, received his earlier musical education in England in the course of pursuing the usual gentlemanly requirements. Good taste in music was everywhere approved, and patronage of composers and performers by the great was regarded as an obligation, while the complete gentleman was expected to be capable of intelligent criticism of literature and art. To be fashionable one had to be musical, and many educated people not only tried to appreciate music but to learn it.[9] It would be natural for a person of Dering's proclivities to be delighted to accept the social etiquette which demanded, where possible, a knowledge of singing and performance on at least two or three instruments. The private music teacher, therefore, rather than an educational institution, at home or abroad, would be mainly responsible for any great musical skill in Tudor times. William Byrd, a famous Catholic musician of Elizabethan times, e.g., was a celebrated private music teacher to the daughter of the Duke of Northumberland and Lady Nevill.[10] Music was after all the chief recreation of family circles in Tudor and early Stuart times, and instrumental performers were greatly appreciated at some musical gatherings. It was the latter's major place of achievement, for public solo performances were almost entirely limited to church organ playing, apart from a few royal or aristocratic functions.[11] Richard's busy career was eventually to enjoy all these varied openings for solo entertaining, even though his earlier training had not been intended for so public a career.

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[4] Mapledurham House was sold in 1581 to a noted Hampshire recusant family, Mr. Henry Shelley and his wife, Marie, descended from the Shelleys of Michelgrove, Sussex. The last Abbess of St. Mary's, Winchester, was born at Mapledurham, so that there seems to be a direct link in the purchase of Liss and Mapledurham by the Derings. Mapledurham, a large gabled building, was considered one of the finest houses in the county. Cf. Francis Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B., *Hampshire Recusants* (London, n.d.), p. 37 and n. 7.

[5] The only relatives to whom Dering bequeathed anything in his will were both Derings, Somerset House, Scroope Papers, 34.

[6] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ancaster Papers, p. 361 and *passim*.

[7] Henry Shelley was in the White Lion Prison in 1580, Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[8] A list of recusants for April, 1583, contains the names of some 240 Hampshire gentry and their wives *State Papers* [hereafter *S. P.*], *Domestic* [*Dom.*], *Elizabeth,* CLX, no. 26. The Recusant Roll for the second year of James I contains lists of men and women in Hampshire of every kind and degree, millers, sailors, milliners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, fishermen, laborers, cf. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

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[9] Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London, 1948), pp. 2-3.

[10] David Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)," *Proceedings of the Music Association,* 65th session (April, 1939), p. 133. Byrd's most famous pupil was Thomas Morley. Edward, Earl of Worcester, and Byrd's intimate friend and patron, was a life-long Catholic and provides an interesting example of how an openly professing Catholic could, nevertheless, enjoy complete freedom, hold high office, and still have the esteem of James I. In 1604 he was even placed on the commission for the expulsion of Jesuits, and was one of those who examined the conspirators in the Tower after the Gunpowder Plot. Cf. Edmund Fellowes, *William Byrd* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 38 and 69. Another Catholic patron of Byrd was Lord Petre of Writtle. William Byrd, a pious Catholic, "who sailed dangerously close to the wind sometimes in his dealings with the Jesuits and others," (*ibid.,* pp. 39 ff.), and whose name was regularly presented as a recusant, was retained in the service of Her Majesty as organist in the chapel royal. Though Byrd did not die until 1623, he never suffered molestation from the authorities at any time and his musical work was never destroyed in any way. Byrd was always held in high esteem (*ibid.,* p. 8). In William Weston, S.J., *An Autobiography from the Jesuit Underground,* edited by Philip Caraman (London, 1955), p. 71, there is an interesting account of Byrd's friendship and meetings with Henry Garnet, S.J., himself a keen musician.

When Dering was about twenty years of age, he began the serious study of music at the University of Oxford. By April, 1610, he was ready to make supplication for the degree of bachelor of music from Christ Church.[12] The supplication was followed by a university's written permission for the degree, called a "grace," which "grace" stipulated the kind of composition the candidate must submit and recorded the number of years he spent in the practice of music.[13] Dering's supplication was so answered in the usual form and "Richard Dering, a scholar most highly trained in music, of Christ Church, forasmuch as he hath spent ten years in the study and practice of music" had his plea granted, "providing he shall have composed a work of eight parts for the next, 'Act.' "[14] Dering was especially fortunate to study at the time when applications for the bachelor's degree were most numerous, and among those whom he knew were many men responsible for the great flowering of music in Renaissance England—Nathaniel Giles, John Bull (a Catholic), John Mundy, Thomas Morley, John Dowland, Giles Farnaby, Thomas Weelkes, and Thomas Tomkins.[15]

Dering's early compositions included instrumental music, e.g., the famous *Fancies* for viols done in the style of the English composers of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period—Tomkins, Dowland, Gibbons, Farnaby, Hume, Ward, and East—rather than in his later Italianate style. Besides the *Fancies,* we also possess his English verse anthems, an English madrigal, and the *City and Country Cryes,* all in a style comparable with that of his English contemporaries.[16] Dering's early music is important in highlighting his devotion to his beloved England, for his *Country Cryes* thrill with a life-time awareness and nostalgic memory of all that made up the Hampshire countryside, while in his *Fancies* a keen ear and warm love of life pulsate through the utilization of London "street-songs," frequently humorous in vein. It was the melodic work of a man who had known England well, and loved it, without a trace of continental flavor or foreign influence.[17]

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[11] Leigh Henry, *John Bull* (London, 1937), pp. 45-46.

[12] *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714,* edited by Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1891), I, 398.

[13] Morrison Comegys Boyd, "Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1940), p. 273.

[14] Archives of the University of Oxford, K 12 (1606-1611), f. 95; Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London, 1895), pp. 215-216, in the course of remarking on a musical series of twenty-five madrigals by twenty-three composers, entitled "The Triumphs of Oriana" produced in honor of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1601, though not entered on the Stationer's Register until October 15, 1603, says that the absentees among the composers are noteworthy. "Neither Byrd, Philipps or Dering, all Romanists, are represented." Neither was John Bull, but he was travelling. Dering after only one year of study would hardly be included whether he was "Romanist" at that time or not.

[15] Charles Boase, *Register of the University of Oxford* (London, 1887), I, 147-148.

The mingling of classes in a busy city created a vast store of "neat and spruce ayres" sung and whistled by practically all the people:

> . . . manual labourers and mechanical artificers of all sorts keep . . . a chaunting and singing in their shoppes, the tailor on his bulk, the shoemaker at his last, the mason at his wall, the shipboy at his oar, the tinker at his pan, and the tiler on the housetop.[18]

All of this national heritage is caught in Dering's compositions. One may hear the streets of London ringing with rival cries and repeated in variant forms—snatches of cries for "sausages," "mats," "ink," and "old doublett." Dering produced the most elaborate and best of the *Fancies.* Besides a number of "cryes" which other musicians viz., Weelkes and Gibbons, omitted,[19] he preserved some of the most interesting and delightful of tradesmen's songs, such as the "Swepe," the "Blacking-seller," the "Vendor of Garlick," the "Rat-Catcher" and the "Tooth-Drawer," who described himself by the encouraging name of "Kind Heart." The whole *Fancy,* full of rollicking London life, beginning in early morning with the apprentices to the night watchman at day's end, shows a Dering capable of being dramatic and humorous.[20] Once this would be filled with his later Italianate emotionalism, the effect would produce a composer prepared to catch the conflicting lights and shadows of a rich Tridentine and early baroque musical form. This is borne out by the fact that even modern music critics praise Dering's *Fancies* for their ability to catch a charming contrast between the melancholy and gently moving tone of one subject against a more lively companion, and their ability to evoke a note of "quiet exaltation."[21]

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[16] Platt, "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.,* pp. 34-35. None of his English compositions was ever published prior to the nineteenth century, although all of his later works for the Catholic rite were. Cf. British Museum, *Catalogue of MS Music in the British Museum* for listing of "cryes."

[17] The part-songs or fancies for five voices and viols are in *Cantiones Selectissimae,* Add., MS 29374-7 B.M. In this MS collection is also to be found a "fancie" by Dering on *Country Cryes*—in fact, this must have been very popular for it figures in four different MSS in the British Museum collections, *Catalogue MS Music in the British Museum,* p. 220. Further evidence of their popularity with contemporary music lovers seems to be shown by the fact that a number of different MSS of them is found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Charles Hughes, "Richard Dering's Fancies for Viols," *Musical Quarterly,* XXVII (1941), 45-46.

[18] John Case, *Praise of Musicke* (London, 1588), p. 44.

[19] Lucy Broadwood, "Some Notes on London Street Cries," *Journal of Folk-Song Society,* VI (June, 1919) 45.

There seems, on the basis of this earlier output of his music, little doubt that Dering's boyhood and early manhood were spent in England, and that he set out for Europe to further his education and seek his fortunes only after he had become a noted composer at home.[22] He may well have been a recusant throughout this time, but evidence in support of this is doubtful. At best he was a crypto-Catholic, without any musical manifestation of his religious affiliation. We enter now, however, with certainty, upon the remaining years of his life in which he was a Catholic, attested to both from his music and his positions in the professional world. Either Dering as a convert became enthusiastically devoted to his new religion, or the new Tridentine music he now came in contact with caught him up in fascinated allegiance.

The evidence for doubting Anthony à Wood's categorical statement that Richard Dering was "always a Roman Catholic" appears in an isolated reference in a letter to Sir John Harrington from Sir Dudley Carleton written in Venice in June, 1612,[23] warning that nobleman of the suspicious behavior of one of his dependents:

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[20] Bridge, *op. cit.,* p. 61; cf. also his *The Crye of London with the Song* (London, 1921), pp. 46-52. The "fancy" was a new form of composition, starting c. 1590, for strings and voices in elaborate contrapuntal form, the vocal parts consisting exclusively of the words and music of the Old London cryes, while the viols played music quite independent of the cryes, creating an effective and expressive musical arrangement.

[21] Hughes, *op. cit.,* pp. 43 and 46.

[22] Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics,* (London, 1885-1902), II, 48, agrees with this, as does Charles Dodd, *Church History* (London, 1742 edition), III, 73, both Catholic historians.

> You have a servant wch. hath spent some time in this city and is now gone to see more of Italy; touching whom I receaved this advertisement. Mr. Dearing is at Rome, lodged neere if not in the English College. I feare he will remaine with them; wether for want of meanes or aboundance of devotion is uncertaine. That one of these should be no hindrance to his delivery from these temptations, I have taken order under hand to have him supplied with sufficient allowance to bring him to Florence where I understand your ordinary provision remaynes for him. Wch. if he accept not I shall then suspect the other cause of his abode in that place and then I suppose you will be at no more . . . with him.[24]

The said Mr. Dearing must have been lodged "near" the college, as there is no reference to him in the Pilgrim Book or any other document of the college.[25] It is not improbable that this was Richard Dering, for it was now two years after his supplication for the degree, and at the time his father had lost his fortune, so that Richard must have been studying at the expense of some patron. It would be quite logical that such a person would send a talented musician into Italy to further his musical education. As Sir John Harrington was a great friend of Prince Henry and emulated him in all things, he undoubtedly cultivated an interest in music, for Henry had a large musical establishment of his own.[26] If Dering was employed by

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[23] The full transcript of this letter is in John W. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (London, 1952), p. 122. The Sir John Harrington, a staunch Protestant apparently, is probably the heir of John, first Lord Harrington of Exton, created such in 1603. Sir John (1592-1614) had returned himself from an extensive tour of Italy and the Low Countries as recently as 1609 (*DNB*, VIII, 1273). This would account for his interest in the new musical forms from Italy. A possible way in which Dering may have had connections with him is suggested by the fact that Sir John's father, Lord Harrington, was one of the founders of Sidney Sussex College in 1594 along with the Earl of Kent, thought to be Dering's uncle, *S. P. Dom.*, July 12, 1594.

[24] Stoye, *op. cit.*, p. 122 puts suggestion of "cost" for the blank.

[25] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1877-1884), VI, Pilgrim Book of Hospice and English College of Rome.

[26] Thomas Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (London, 1760), p. 295; cf. p. 290 for mention of friendship with the prince and p. 168 for letters from Harrington in Italy to Henry.

Harrington, he must have come into contact with the prince's musicians, among whom the chief one was the Roman Catholic, John Bull.[27]

From the letter it appears, too, that Dering was not as yet well acquainted with Italy, but he seems to have visited Venice, Florence, and Rome—visits to musical cities in their post-Tridentine and early Baroque transitions that would have made a profound impression. It is not difficult to believe that Dering's conversion to Catholicism took place at this time. We cannot, however, overlook the possibility that he might have been glad of an opportunity to get to Rome just because he was already a Catholic! We know he was a Catholic in 1617 in the first publication of his Italianate music, from the dedication of those motets for the Catholic rite. In this preface he remarks that this music was composed in "the first city of the world" and had for a long time "desired to come forward," indicating it had existed for some time in manuscript form. The patron of these works was Sir William Stanley, also a Catholic, and to both Dering and Stanley, the "first city" would be Rome.[28] The published motets are works of passionate fervor for the Catholic rite. Among them were such familiar texts as "Anima Christi," "Ave Maria Gratia Plena," "Ave Verum Corpus," "Ave Virgo Gratiosa," "Desidero te," "Jesu Dulcis Memoria."

The whole preface to the 1617 set is a testament to Dering's allegiance in both religion and music. It is obvious he has become devoted to contemporary Italian ideas. Now the steady contrapuntal flow of the English verse anthems is abandoned for a vivid fragmentary presentation of the text. The music has become declamatory, impassioned, and utilizes strong contrasts in mood and in speed. Whether it is for two, three, five, or six voices, it is now invariably provided with a part for *basso continuo,* something not found at all in his English works.[29]

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[27] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 254; other musicians of Henry, Prince of Wales, whom Dering must have known were Lupo, who composed ensemble music for viols in the same style as Dering, Robert Johnson, the masque composer, Signor Angelo, Matthew Johnson, Thomas Day. Cf. Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 455 and Manfred F. Bukhofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, 1947), pp. 73 and 183.

[28] Bridge, "Twelve Good Musicians," *op. cit.*, p. 59. Sir William Stanley, a "remarkable" personage and a great adherent of the Jesuits—his brother John was a member of that order—was at this time councilor of war to Philip III in the Netherlands. Cf. *DNB,* XVIII, 569-571.

Dering undertook his tour of Italian cities at a time richly rewarding in musical experience, especially in Venice and in Rome, where the Counter Reformation and early Baroque were creating a revolution in art forms away from the balance, order, and harmony of the Renaissance and toward the warm, flamboyant, and dramatic. The Jesuits, so powerful a force in the post-Tridentine European world, emphasized eloquence, studied eloquence, as a means of propaganda. They sought to spread the Catholic faith by imparting warmth and a spirit of ecstasy to speech and song. In music the emotions were expressed through tone color in human voice, as well as in instrument, and choral music now came to be written for its sheer "sound" value. Palestrina was not devoid of this, but its real origins were to be found in Venice in the pioneer work of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, and it developed under the versatile Monteverdi, and Gabrieli's devoted, brilliant German disciple, Schütz, in the very decade in which Dering came to Venice to study under these great organists.[30] Venice was a natural place for color, and the great Byzantine Church of St. Mark with its double choir loft suggested the use Gabrieli made of double choral style, with either singing groups vying with each other, or sometimes the contrast of instruments in one choir with voices in another, to the point where this "concerted" principle of competing became one of the characteristic features of Baroque. Dering must often have gone to St. Mark's to hear Giovanni Gabrieli, and, undoubtedly, to talk with him, for the master remained in charge of the organ and choirs there until his death in 1612. The magic effects of seven and eight parts for voices, woven in infinite variety, created a rich texture of color, while the dispersion of choir lofts, choirs, and instruments about the church introduced elements of space and contrast and the highly dramatic effect of echoes.[31] All the senses were to be aroused in a burst of religious fervor.

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[29] Platt, "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.,* p. 36; we also have publications of his Italianate music in 1618 and 1620, as well as the collection made by Playford in 1662.

[30] Paul Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), pp. 236-237. Undoubtedly the underlying tone of these remarks on the Counter Reformation musical revolution in Italy is an attempt to recall in halting language the truly inspirational lectures of Professor Paul Lang of Columbia University on the Baroque musical world which the writer had the good fortune to hear. Much of that knowledge has yet to find its way into written texts.

Most representative of the Tridentine spirit was the emphasis now placed upon words in sacred music. Music served the meaning of the liturgy with fervor and intensity so that in the Gabrieli motet "Timor et Tremor"—"fear and trembling"—are truly represented in graphic style with breath-taking "rests," jagged figures, descending sixths—nearly everything that violated the rules of sixteenth-century counterpoint.[32] What Gabrieli had started, Claudio Monteverdi, who succeeded him as organist at St. Mark's in 1613, continued with even greater virtuosity, as did Schütz, and a score of others, such as Bernardi, Capello, Bassani, and Leoni. They were caught up in the tremendous power and possibilities of the new spirit. Dering must have listened, warmed, and thrilled—and finally been converted—by the aesthetic delights of the new music. Nor was he the only Englishman so affected, for Venice was a favorite spot in Italy with the English, and they could not have remained insensible to the music about them.

In place of Renaissance polyphony, Monteverdi, Gabrieli, and the rest wished to mass all the expressive power of the music on *one* voice, and more and more the burden of taking over the remaining parts fell upon the organist. True monody forced its way into sacred music only around 1610, so that Dering was at the birth of the modern style, especially in the work of Alessandro Grandi, another pupil of Gabrieli's. It was a style which heightened the *basso continuo* function of the organist.[33] As there were no scores, sometimes the organist had to look at four "part books" at once! This would have proved an exciting challenge to Dering, who was first and foremost an organist. The *nuove musiche* was a rejuvenation of plain chant and liturgical revival brought about by the Tridentine demand for reforms of abuses in church music, but in an entirely new style.[34]

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[31] Bukhofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Gabrieli, e.g., used violins, cornetti, trombone, bassoons, bass viols in coloristic combinations. His "O gloriosa virgo" combines three choruses in bass register.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 65. Actually it was the end product of St. Philip Neri's use of monodic *recitativo* in place of polyphonic anthems and *laudi*, with their emphasis on epic and drama, Pierre Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation* (Milwaukee, 1949), p. 221.

[34] "Actually the enjoinders of the Council of Trent in 1562 concerning music were not so sweeping and severe as was formerly believed. There was issued

Men like Cardinal Bellarmine could appreciate in these new methods, which yet held to the "sense" of the liturgy, the artistic and pyschological value they offered to men's emotions. As Symonds says, "The specific qualities of Italian music for the next two centuries were undoubtedly determined by the atmosphere of sensuous pietism in which it flourished."[35]

In Rome, Dering would have found less of the unrestrained dynamics and frequent tempo changes in music met at Florence or Venice. The Roman composers emphasized vocal virtuosity, more than the instrumental, or the more important place given to the organ. Undoubtedly for this reason Rome would have had less appeal for Dering; nor was his nature likely to be attracted to the more memorable displays of vocal fireworks, such as the rendition by Villori of Domenico Mazzocchi's plaint of the repentant Magdalen, where Roman audiences were transported by realistic sobs of his singing, a mixture of devotion and sensuous realism.[36] On the other hand, the Roman school in Dering's time was more the bulwark of traditionalism with Palestrina as the infallible model, upon whose music his successors Anerio, Giovanelli, and Nanino, slowly worked a transformation by applying dissonant rhythms and harmonic arrangements. Frescobaldi, the organist who brought the great expansion of the Roman choruses and compositions to unprecedented dimensions in the Venetian manner, but exceeding it, had to wait for yet another decade or more. Nonetheless, everywhere Dering went, the profusion of vocal and instrumental new music reflected the pomp of church ritual in the Counter Reformation, whether it was in the inner fervor of Gabrieli, or the externalized technical virtuosity of the Roman school.

All of this musical excitement and change in Rome, Florence, and Venice finds its reflection in Dering's music from now on. His *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1617, e.g., owe a great deal to the Venetian master Gabrieli, while it is no less significant that these motets are com-

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a recommendation that music be kept consistent with the grave and pious nature of the service," Dean Tolle Mace, "English Musical Thought in the Seventeenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), p. 53.

[35] J. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (London, 1898), VII, 202.

[36] Bukhofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

parable in style and mood with Schütz' collection of the same name, published in 1625.[37] No doubt Dering returned more than once to Venice, and the influence of Monteverdi is particularly evident in his Italian madrigals. In Florence, Peri was choir master to the Medicis, and Gagliano, chapel master to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, while in Rome, where Dering may have been resident for several years, Anerio was at Madonna de Monti, Nanino, chapel master at Santa Maria Maggiore, to mention only a few of these contemporary Italian composers with whom Dering would have become acquainted, and from whom he would imbibe the Tridentine spirit.

Dering returned to England after a few years where, according to Wood, "he practiced his faculty for some time" until "his name being highly cried up, [he] became after many entreaties, organist to the English nuns living in the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Brussels."[38] This occurred in 1617, and it was in this same year, while he was organist at Brussels, that his *Cantiones Sacrae* were published by the Peter Phalese Press in Antwerp.[39] Dering probably accepted the post more for the sake of greater peace of mind in producing works for the Catholic liturgy than he would have enjoyed in England—though he had never been molested for his faith—than through any pressure of cordial invitations.[40] It was a tempting time to go, as English instrumentalists were in great favor abroad, and a number of friends of the musical world were there. There was, e.g., John Bolt, who had been musician to Queen Elizabeth until he was converted to Catholicism in 1585, when he prudently retired to the position of organist to Sir John Petre in Essex. Arrested as a papist in 1594, he was released through the good offices of Lady

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[37] Platt, "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[38] Wood, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

[39] This Catholic press was used by most of the English composers living abroad, e.g., Peter Philips; A. G. Petti, "Peter Philips, Composer and Organist 1561-1628," *Recusant History*, IV (April 1957), 53. An edition of Philips' madrigals appeared in 1615 dedicated to the Catholic exile, Colonel William Stanley, who was also Dering's patron in 1617, *ibid.*, p. 53. It is too bad that Dering did not attempt to have them published in England in order to become better known in his own country. William Byrd had managed to publish two volumes of *Gradualia* as early as 1605 in England, containing his music for the Latin rite and including even three masses. "The publication of so distinctively a Catholic collection of motets as the *Gradualia* would probably have been impossible during the reign of the Queen," Fellowes, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[40] Pulver, *op. cit.*, p. 137 agrees with this.

Rich and voluntarily went into exile in Brussels where he was ordained a priest at Douai and spent the remainder of his life abroad.[41] John Bull was appointed organist of Antwerp cathedral in the same year, 1617, a post he held until his death in 1628.[42] A more important figure at Brussels, whom Dering would be anxious to know, was Father Peter Philips, organist of the royal chapel of the Archduke Albert, and one of the best composers of his period.[43] Other English Catholic musicians residing in the Spanish Netherlands at this time were Daniel Norcome and Anthony Chambers.[44]

The Abbey of the Glorious Assumption of Our Lady at Brussels, situated in a street called Hietegatts, was a large house purchased from the Vicomte de Bergues.[45] It was to this place that Richard Dering repaired in 1617. At that time it was only nineteen years old, and it was the first Benedictine cloister erected under diocesan supervision for English women. Prior to 1598, English ladies had had to enter continental Benedictine convents because the movement had not assumed sufficient proportions to warrant a distinct establishment.[46] But Lady Mary Percy, daughter of the martyred seventh Earl of Northumberland—who had died on August 22, 1572—thought otherwise.[47] She had already entered the convent of the Austin Canonesses at Brussels in 1596, but upon the advice of Father William Holt, S.J., she decided to leave it and to found an English Benedictine convent.[48] Her first enthusiastic adherents were Dorothy and Gertrude Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, whose family had long possessed vast property.[49] Since none of them had had much experience in religious life, they had to secure a superior from one of the existing houses. Through the willing offices of Father Holt, they procured an experienced English nun from the convent of St. Peter of Rheims, Dame Joanna Berkeley, daughter of Sir John Berkeley of Gloucester. Dame Joanna brought with her from Rheims as assistant, Dame Mary Noel,[50] and so successful were they by 1599 that the young community already numbered eight choir nuns and four lay-sisters.[51] The number of newcomers increased so rapidly that Lady Joanna Berkeley soon found herself with a community of fifty souls, most of whom bore the names of familiar English Catholic families—Cansfield, Wiseman, Persons, Digby, Knatchbull, Rockwood, Tresham, Lovel, Roper, Vavasour, Gage constantly appear.[52] By the late period of James I, when Dering knew them, there were seventy sisters.

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[41] John Morris, *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers* (London, 1874), II, 142; W. H. Grattan Flood, *The Musical Antiquary* (July, 1913), p. 261; Gillow, *op. cit.*, I, 256-257.

[42] Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Cf. Wilibald Nagel, *Geschichte der Musik in England* (Strassburg, 1897), II, 116-117 on contemporary English Catholic musicians abroad.

[43] Petti, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-60; Philips spent the first twenty years or so of his life in England, having been brought up under the Catholic musician, Sebastian Westcote, as one of the boys of St. Paul's School. In 1582 he went to Rome and was ordained at the English College in 1589. From 1589 to his death in Brussels in 1628, he remained in self-imposed exile, working as organist and canon of various churches in the Low Countries, writing under the influence of Gabrieli's music, and of the Palestrina Roman school. Cf. also Peter Platt, "The Music of Peter Philips," *The Listener,* XLVI (August 16, 1951), 278.

[44] These are mentioned in a spy's list of English Catholics in the Spanish Netherlands for 1614 where they are described as "Musitiens to the Archd.," Petti, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[45] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea,* IX (Vol. 14), 175; Catholic Truth Society, *Lady Mary Percy* (London, 1906), LXV, 1.

[46] Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1759* (New York, 1914), p. 256. At that time the only English convent in existence was that of the Bridgettines at Lisbon. Cf. Dom Basil Whelan, O.S.B., *Historic English Convents of Today* (London, 1936), p. 39.

One would wonder how a rapidly expanding community, and one still in its infancy, could afford to meet the ordinary expenses of its new foundation, much less be able to afford the not inconsiderable expense of a special organist like Richard Dering. Actually Dering was not the first organist hired by the nuns, for John Bolt became organist in 1608, prior to Dering, a position he held until his departure for Louvain in 1612 where, having attended Sister Magdalen

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[47] She had been brought to the Low Countries as a child by her mother, and had been educated at Louvain, Liège, Mechlin, and Brussels.

[48] Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[49] Lady Mary Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 13: Dame Noel's family were created Earls of Gainsborough in 1682.

[51] Guilday, *op. cit.*, p. 257. One of these lay sisters bore the historic name of Tichbourne, according to Whelan, *op. cit.*, p. 40. She had been a close neighbor of Dering in Hampshire days.

[52] Guilday, *op. cit.*, p. 258: names, too, that are reminiscent of twenty years of conflict between secular priests and Jesuits, as well as implication in the Gunpowder Plot. The mere fact that Fathers Holt and Persons were both instrumental in the foundation of the abbey would have brought the house into disfavor with the leaders of the secular clergy.

Throckmorton's profession, he was induced to remain at St. Monica's as chaplain and organist.[53]

The problem of such a salary to be paid would be one of many financial burdens faced by the young English community. It was evident that the impoverished condition of many of the Catholic gentry prevented the parents from providing anything but the slenderest of dowries for their daughters' maintenance. The distress of the convent was relieved from time to time by generous benefactors, including the Benedictine abbots in the Netherlands, the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, both of whom were personal friends of Lady Mary Percy, and the contributions—to the sum of 12,000 florins—made by English officers who were in Spanish service.[54] Through the assistance of the Jesuits, the sisters also procured from the King of Spain a pension of fifty crowns a month.[55]

Like most of the convents, the Abbey of the Glorious Assumption, set amidst a small colony of English exiles, also had a school. This was the source of some financial help, although the schools seldom proved very profitable as they were on too small a scale. In addition, all the convents had outquarters in which they lodged lay people, both men and women. These were those who wanted to settle down in Catholic, and yet English, surroundings, hoping in this way to mitigate the loneliness of their exile.[56] Here in the outlying quarters Dering lodged, enjoying his own apartment and eating at the chaplain's table. He had as near neighbors the confessor, steward, sacristan of the extra-claustral church, the servants, as well as many visitors and boarders, mostly refugees from England.[57] It was of great importance to the nuns to have these quarters fully occupied, for it was an invaluable addition to a scanty income.

During the time Richard Dering was organist at the monastery, Father Robert Chambers, a secular priest, was the chaplain and confessor, a position he held for twenty years from 1609-1629. His predecessor, William Baldwin, S.J., a "person of great vertu and veneration, who had binn prisoner long in ye towre of london,"[58] had replaced Father Holt when he was removed to Rome in 1601. Father Chambers and Dering had certain interests and characteristics in common, which helped make Dering's stay more interesting for him. A "most wyse, and worthy learned and sayntly man . . . a man of gallant presence and generous nature," Chambers was deeply interested in the careful fulfillment of all the proper rubrics of church ceremonies.[59] As music played a large part in this, especially on the occasion of great festivals, mutual suggestion and co-operation created accord between two such scholarly and courteous dispositions. Chambers, as a liturgist, welcomed with enthusiasm the new Tridentine music that Dering had brought from Italy.

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[53] Gillow, *op. cit.*, I, 257.

[54] "Lady Mary Percy," *op. cit.*, p. 16; Guilday, *op. cit.*, p. 258: The archduke gave them the initial 2,000 pounds with which they bought a house.

[55] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea,* V (Vol. VI), 5.

[56] Whelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 23, on the basis of a description of the Brussels convent quoted in the *Chronicles of the First Monastery Founded for Benedictine Nuns, 1597,* anonymously written.

While Dering had originally been invited to be organist at the abbey by its first superioress, Lady Joanna Berkeley, his actual acceptance and arrival came in the term of office of a new abbess, and the abbey's foundress, Lady Mary Percy. Lady Berkeley had died in August, 1616, and by November 14, 1616, Lady Percy had succeeded her zealous and hard-working predecessor in an election which had given her a unanimous vote.[60] The first abbess could die well content, for she had left the monastery settled, finally out of debt, and with its constitutions confirmed.[61] This solvency made possible the kind of expansion of church services any Percy would be anxious to further, for they were a family noted for their magnificent ecclesiastical gifts and endowments.[62]

Desirous of carrying out the full ceremonial of the choral office, Lady Percy determined to build a monastic church. It would be the first English church built after the Reformation by exiles for the faith. Sir William Stanley, Dering's patron and friend of this year 1617, had the soldiers of his regiment, then quartered at Brussels, give their services *gratis* as masons and laborers for the erection of the edifice.[63] With this help, the building rose rapidly and was finished and consecrated in 1618. Dering was present to offer advice on acoustics, the position of the organ choir loft, and related technical problems. As in most conventual churches in those times, the large organ was in the extra-claustral portion of the church.[64] It made possible, therefore, the perfect setting for achieving all the new spatial elements necessary for achieving the dramatic tensions of the new Counter-Reformation music.

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[58] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea,* V (Vol. VI), 3.

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[60] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[61] "Lady Mary Percy," *op. cit.,* p. 18.

[62] *Ibid.,* p. 19: York Minster was built chiefly by contributions of the Percy and Vavasour families.

[63] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

At the consecration of the new church in 1619, Dering had one of his important opportunities for elaborate musical contribution, for Lady Percy set much value on the solemn and decorous carrying-out of the divine worship.[65] Then, too, for such a significant occasion, the ritual had to be equally impressive. Many rich gifts were forthcoming for the new church at this time—silver candlesticks and a set of green vestments from Thomas Strange, S.J.; a crimson set of vestments from Father Roger Lee, while the famous John Gerard, S.J., gave two silver reliquaries, and at his suggestion "my Lady Anne Winter gave a silver image of St. Anne, my Lady Lovell one of St. Scholastica, Mrs. Vaux, her sister, one of our holy father St. Benedict: one of St. Maurus by my Lady Digby."[66] The Benedictine nuns at Brussels thus became rich in many valuable reliquaries and church treasures given to them from time to time by friends as, e.g., a very ornate reliquary for a relic of the Holy Cross presented in a solemn pageant on Palm Sunday of 1623 by Sir William Vavasour—a pageant which provided a wonderful opportunity for rich, dramatic music in the new style.[67]

Dering must have found his work amidst such typical Catholic surroundings both time-consuming and satisfying. A school, a boarding house for lay people, a convent, a rare English church in a strange country all combined to call forth a rich variety of festivals and ceremonies requiring his skill. A convent of seventy nuns must also have provided an adequate choir, for the monastery of the English Benedictines at Brussels had a high reputation for sanctity and a zeal to praise God in the best liturgical music.[68] Convents like Our Lady of the Assumption were vastly different from the old pre-Reformation houses. The stress and tribulation of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century caused these new foundations to be imbued with a new spirit, one emanating from the counsels engendered by Tridentine reforms and animated by the example of such "modern" saints as Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, and Jeanne de Chantal. It put the English convents very much in the forefront of the battle for survival and regeneration.

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[64] Platt, "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.*, p. 50, citing *Chronicles of the First Monastery Founded for Benedictine Nuns, 1597.*

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 52. Dering dedicated the 1618 set of motets to Lady Mary Percy.

[66] Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., *Vaux of Harrowden* (Newport, 1953), p. 430, citing *Chronicles of the First Monastery for Benedictine Nuns, 1597*, p. 102. This last was the widow of the conspirator, Sir Everard, whose sister had entered the community.

[67] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea*, V (Vol. VI), 5. William Vavasour had ten children in religion.

These manifold opportunities for musical expression are borne out by the prolific outpouring of Dering's music while he was organist there from 1617 to 1625. He published one set of five voice motets (1617), one set of six voice motets (1618) and two sets of *canzonetti* (both 1620) for three and four voices respectively.[69] Many of the musical titles evoke reminders of Benedictine services, nuns' professions, and devotional ceremonies in honor of the Sacred Heart, holy week, etc., quite typical of the group with which he dealt, e.g., "Jubilate Deo," "Virgo prudentissima," "Quam pulchra es," "Panis angelicus," "O vos omnes," "Veni Jesu," and "Te laudamus."[70] Among those for whose profession Dering must have played were Columba Gage (who was fifty-two at the time!), Aurea James, Teresa Gage, Ethelred Smith, Dorothy Manock, Marie Kempe, Placida Brooke, Catherine Bond, Marie Roper, Marie Wintour, Flavia Langdale, Vivina Yaxley, and Francisca Paston of Thorpe.[71]

Richard Dering was also a part of the monastery in the years of its greatest internal conflict when arguments arose as to whether they should be receiving spiritual direction from the Jesuits or from secular chaplains. In order to secure continued Jesuit direction, in

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[68] Sister Anne Hardmann, *English Carmelites in Penal Times* (London, 1936), p. 142.

[69] Platt, "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.,* p. 52. It is interesting that one of the 1620 Canzonet collections was dedicated to Sir Toby Matthews' great friend, Sir George Gage. It is likely that Dering first met Gage in Rome as he was there from 1611 until his ordination in 1614. Many of these motets show real dignity and power and all utilize the modern methods to which he had been exposed in Italy. Cf. Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England,* 3rd edition (London, 1952), p. 105.

[70] Arkwright, "Catalogue of Church Music in Christ Church," *op. cit.,* I, 34-35.

[71] Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea,* IX (Vol. XIV), 182-184.

1624 four of the Brussels community set out for Ghent (their names are significant of Jesuit connections—Knatchbull, Poulton, Digby, Roper) after two years of secret planning quite unknown to the abbess. Actually, they ultimately attained the ready consent of the abbess for the new foundation because the Brussels house was by that time overcrowded. But even after they left there continued to be trouble until 1636.[72] Poor Richard was in an uncomfortable position, indeed, amidst this unedifying squabble. His place at the chaplain's table, and the choir work with the nuns, brought him into proximity with many of the undercurrents, and it was no wonder that he accepted with alacrity an appointment to Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel the year following the Ghent departure.

In any event, it was not really surprising that Dering should have utilized the opportunity of the marriage of Charles I to a Catholic queen to return to England. The man who had once written the *Fancies* of London and the *Country Cryes* was not one to enjoy a long exile, even self-imposed, no matter how great were the opportunities of participating in the new musical trends. Henrietta arrived in Canterbury on June 13, 1625, and Dering is first mentioned in court records for December 22 of that same year.[73] From the queen's Establishment Book for 1629-1630 we know that "Richard Dirrin" was one of Her Majesty's musicians receiving £120 yearly, a reasonably high salary.[74] According to both Wood and Playford, he was the queen's organist for her Catholic chapel at Somerset House.[75]

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[72] Cf. accounts in Whelan, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44; Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 f.; Sir Toby Matthew's, *The Life of the Lady Lucy Knatchbull*, edited by Dom David Knowles (Louvain, 1947). Sir Toby was the son of the Archbishop of York in the reign of James I, who, converted in Italy by the Jesuits, notably, Robert Persons, was ordained by Robert Bellarmine at Rome in 1614 and became a courtier, man of letters, diplomat, globe-trotter, linguist, and protagonist of the Counter Reformation in England.

[73] Nagel, *op. cit.*, I, 40. This is in a list of musicians dispensed from paying certain subsidies.

[74] Public Record Office, E 101/438/7.

[75] This Establishment Book, and those of 1632-1633, are the only books from the early years of the queen's residence in England and, therefore, it does not tell us exactly when Dering joined her household, nor do these books list the special duties assigned each musician. Wood and Playford are probably correct. Playford's publication of Dering's *Cantica Sacra* (1662) was dedicated to Henrietta, and the title page notes: "Authore Ricardo Deringo Regiae Majestatis quondam organista." It does not seem likely that Playford would have given

Queen Henrietta, imbued as she was with the Catholic reform interests of the great French Oratorian, Pierre de Bérulle, would have been delighted to obtain an organist whose sympathies were wholly in accord with the artistic demands of that reform. Actually, Somerset House chapel was not completed until 1636, and by then Dering had been dead some six years—although he had been living through the early part of its construction. He must have felt quite "at home" amidst the trials of being organist during building operations! Father Cyprian de Gamache, the leader of the Capuchin friars in the queen's service,[76] mentioned in his detailed account of the building of the chapel that "Divine service had previously been performed in a spacious room fitted up in the form of a chapel."[77] It was here that Dering performed. Probably much of what he played was his own composition. The two and three voice motets which Playford later collected and published were undoubtedly first sung in England in the queen's chapel. If we are to judge from Gamache's praises of the music, it would seem that the queen's musicians were of a high calibre, and Dering must have been thrilled to be at last among a group of men of common interests and skills. There was more than enough to keep the hard-working musician busy, for besides Queen Henrietta's zealous devotion to daily Mass, vespers, and compline, she was a devotée of the masque. In addition to the hall that was set aside as a chapel, there was a music room complete with organ in Somerset House.[78] Masques were sometimes performed here, and the musicians of the queen's chapel took part in the entertainments.

Nor was this by any means the full account of Dering's court duties. A number of the queen's musicians—Steffkin, La Mare, du Val, Anthony Robert—were also in the king's service, and Dering

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an erroneous description of Dering's former capacity at Henrietta's court, in a collection expressly dedicated to the dowager queen, who lived in England until 1665.

[76] After the French Oratorians had been banished by the king in July, 1626. Cf. Gordon Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (Louvain, 1935) for an extended account.

[77] The memoirs of Father Cyprian de Gamache are translated in full at the end of Thomas Birch, *Life and Times of Charles I*, edited by Robert F. Williams, II (London, 1848).

[78] Raymond Needham and Alexander Webster, *Somerset House Past and Present* (New York, 1906), p. 110.

figured among those employed in a dual role. It speaks well for his musical abilities that he should have been chosen despite his Catholicism; this happened not infrequently when a Catholic subject was considered useful. Charles I had inherited his mother's love of the arts. He was musical, playing the *viola da gamba* with more than mere proficiency, and he maintained an unusually large establishment of some sixty-five musicians.[79] The resources available to an appreciative king in the England of the 1620's were of the highest quality—in fact, musically speaking, it was one of England's most productive periods. Nearly every monarch from Henry V on had sent around a periodical commission to ferret out and impress the best musicians and singers for the royal service, with the natural result that the cream of the crop was in the court circle.[80] To have been appointed a king's musician in 1625 with an annual stipend of forty pounds meant that Dering had really "arrived."[81] The galaxy of those with whom he either could consort, or among whom he might henceforth be included as "eminent," contained such names as Gibbons, Dowland, William Lawes, Alphonso Ferrabosco, John Coperario, to mention but a few.[82]

Aside from the prestige of court musician, there was a considerable increase in a personal sense of dignity. Most professional musicians started and ended as menials, some respected for their gifts and skill, but on the whole tolerated at best. To be a king's musician was to be a member of the professional aristocracy. They could afford to live as gentlemen, and most of all, they thought of themselves as gentlemen.[83] Richard Dering's will gives proof of his comfortable means, and of his saving and conservative nature. In an addendum to the will—indicative, too, of its death-bed dictation and, therefore, of his actual state of solvency at the time—his ownership of gentlemanly attire and his practical bent assert themselves in the statement, "To my man all my cloakes and lynnen, except my black plush cloake and my new sute of plush never worn."[84] His affluence, attested by bequests of about £319 and over forty pieces of plate, was partially due to the drawing of a double salary from his dual offices to the king and queen, as well as to a bachelor state without the cares and expenses of a family.

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[79] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1789), III, 361; Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1953), p. 178.

[80] Gerald Hayes, *The King's Musik* (London, 1937), p. 8.

[81] Woodfill, *op. cit.*, Appendix E., p. 304. Usually they seem to have been paid punctually and on the whole were well off—more so than the gentlemen of the chapel royal, p. 183; cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, XXXI, 372, for warrant as a king's musician. Along with the forty pounds annually, he also received a yearly stipend of 16 £.2s.6d. for his livery as well, Henry C. Lafontaine (Ed.), *The King's Musik* (London, 1909), pp. 61 and 63.

[82] Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[83] Woodfill, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44.

Dering enjoyed only five years in the satisfying company of the musicians of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, and amid the comfort of having both his beloved England and the exercise of his Catholic faith in open and public ceremony. He died unexpectedly, and the suddenness of death is suggested by the fact that the original document of Dering's will lacked either his signature or mark, and was also without witnesses' signatures. The absence of legal formulas and the sentence, " I give you cosen E. Bold," his executor, suggest a hurriedly conceived will and one dictated to an attending relative.[85] It is quite possible that he may have died of the plague since that was the cause given for the very high number of 1,317 deaths in London in 1630, as compared with 274 the following year. As Dering's will registered his burial in the Church of St. Mary-in-Savoy for March 22, 1630, it appears that he followed the common practice of Catholic burial in a Protestant church.[86] He missed by just a few years' time the privilege of being buried in an actual Catholic cemetery, for Henrietta Maria had a small plot of ground attached to her chapel in Somerset House consecrated and used after 1633 as a burial ground for Catholic members of her household.[87]

[84] Somerset House, Scroope Papers, 34.

[85] Platt suggests that the handwriting of the original will is very similar to the signature Edward Bold which appears on a receipt he signed for money received in payment of Dering's livery. "Richard Dering," dissertation, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[86] Thurstan Dart, "Richard Dering," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Eric Blom, 5th edition (New York, 1955), II, 671. Actually the old Church of St. Mary-in-Savoy had been pulled down during the building of Somerset House (1549). The parishioners used the Church of St. Clement, or the King's Chapel in Savoy, until St. Mary-le-Strand was completed in 1723. However, a separate set of registers was reserved for parishioners of St. Mary-in-Savoy.

[87] Platt, "Richard Dering," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* edited by Friedrich Blume, III (1954), 202.

While we may presume that Richard Dering's music in the Italian style helped to prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of Italian music in Restoration England, no excessive claims for his widespread influence on England in his own time may be made. Nonetheless, his work among the English at the Brussels convent, school, and boarding-house, as well as in the queen's chapel, frequented by many of the English aristocracy, places him among the group of artists influential in transmitting the new Tridentine reforms and ideas to his English contemporaries. The majority of his compositions were written in the service of the Catholic Church. He came to enjoy a surprising, and fairly considerable, vogue in certain circles during the course of the seventeenth century. Thomas Mace, e.g., described his popularity at the musical gatherings of the University of Cambridge as follows:

> We had for our Grave Musick Fancies of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts to the organ, Interspersed (now and then) with some Pavins, Allmaines, Solemn and Sweet Delightful Ayres. . . . The Authors of such like Compositions have been divers Famous English Men and Italians: some of which for their Very Great Eminency and Worth in that Particular Faculty I will here name viz. Mr. Alfonso Ferabosco, Mr. John Ward, Mr. Lupo, Mr. White, Mr. Richard Deering, Mr. William Lawes. . . . The Best which we did ever Esteem, were Those Things which were most Solemn and Divine some of which I will (for their Eminency) name viz. Mr. Deering's Gloria Patri and other of his Latin songs: now lately Collected and Printed, by Mr. Playford (a very Laudable and Thankworthy Work). . . .[88]

Then, too, his three-part motets were great favorites with Cromwell, and John Hingston, organist, with two of his boys, would often sing this Catholic composer's Latin works to the music-loving Puritan leader.[89] Playford's musical club in the 1660's sang some of Dering's *canzonetti* in English translations. The insatiable Samuel Pepys, of course, knew Dering's music, and in his diary on November 22, 1662, he stated:

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[88] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), p. 234. Mace, a clerk of Trinity College, Cambridge, devotes many enthusiastic pages in *Musick's Monument* to musical customs he knew in his youth. Alphonso Ferrabosco was of English birth, though of Italian parentage.

[89] John Hingston was organist to Cromwell "who had the organ of Magd. College in the Palace Hall of Hampton Court till his Maties Restauration: he breen up two Boyes to sing with Himself (Mr. Dearings) printed Latin songs for three voices: which Oliver was most taken with: tho' he did not allow singing or organ in Churches. He had them sung at the Cockepit at

> This day I bought the book of country dances against my wife's woman Gosnell comes, who dances finely; and there, meeting Mr. Playford, he did give me his Latin songs of Mr. Deering's which he lately printed.[90]

All this is quite understandable, for on the testimony of modern music critics and performers who have scored and played Dering's music,[91] the adverse criticism of an earlier time—notably Dr. Charles Burney's dictum in the eighteenth century that it was "very sober . . . dry and uninteresting—"[92] is given the lie. It is agreed that while on paper the short sections and frequent cadences present a disjointed appearance, the apparent dullness is misleading, for his music when played is really filled with great expressiveness and beauty, and with all the dramatic intensity and passionate fervor of the Tridentine writers. It is frequently moving, and, on the whole, music of a high calibre.[93] What is, perhaps, most significant is that a Catholic musician could in that period work and achieve as Dering did, and this mostly in sacred music. It is as much a testament to the growing tolerance of the time, as to his own prudence and ability. Evidently the majority in England could appreciate, as Peacham did, the fact that music was:

> . . . a goodly Science . . . the fountaines of our lives good and happinesse: since it is a principal meanes of glorifying our mercifull Creator, it heightens our devotion, it gives delight and ease to our travailes. . . .[94]

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White Hall, where he had an organ," Anthony à Wood's "Lives of Musicians," Bodleian MS 190(4).

[90] Samuel Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence,* edited by Mynors Bright (New York, 1884), III, 33-34.

[91] E.g., Frederick Bridge and Peter Platt.

[92] Burney, *op. cit.,* III, 367.

[93] The canzonetta "Lagrime" and the familiar "Jesu dulcis memoria" are cases in point. Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.,* p. 39; Bridge, "Twelve Good Musicians," *op. cit.,* p. 50.

[94] Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman,* 1622 (London, 1634 edition), p. 104. Peacham couples Dering's name with a list of composers noted "for depth of skill and richnesse of concept," p. 103.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH

Saints Who Made History. The First Five Centuries. By Maisie Ward. (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc. 1959. Pp. xiv, 377. $4.50.)

"This book is not a Church history, but a handful of portraits to illuminate it" (p. ix). These prefatory words of the author give a rather accurate general description of her work. The series of portraits sketch the story of the Church of the fathers from the martyr-bishop Ignatius to the monk Benedict. The word "portrait" is well chosen. None of the delineations of the saints is a full length presentation. They are rather insights into phases of the lives and writings of the fathers—personal impressions received from wide reading of patristic literature against a background of the life of the early Church. These are vivid, moving pictures told at times almost in a reporter's style, forthright, with a knack for underscoring the interesting. The author's Catholic Evidence Guild experience frequently shows itself in pointed, practical conclusions applicable to modern life. Several long excursions into the Arian and Donatist crises, clerical celibacy, and the "fall" of the West belie the author's claim not to be writing—at least to some extent—a history of the Church.

It would be difficult to call this book defective according to ordinary norms. It presents designedly a digest of Maisie Ward's extensive reading and her personal experiences in the field of patrology. "This book tells of those who brought the early centuries of the Church to life *for me*" (p. vi). There are certain things, however, that are revealed. The author's sources are almost without exception English and French. A six-page bibliography shows, it must be stated, that the best authors in these languages were consulted. The older English translations of the writings of the fathers are used. The author is more adept in handling the letters of the saints than in recounting straight history. If we may judge from this work, Maisie Ward is not very conversant with the great St. Cyprian, his controversies with the popes, and his moving writings. She has a rather broad concept of the term "father," seeming to include St. Patrick within its orbit. Lastly, she has a special predilection for the fathers of the desert, giving them a more sympathetic treatment than the facts, perhaps, would warrant.

The scholar will find nothing new in this book, aside from the pleasant freshness of Maisie Ward's approach. The priest who wishes to review quite solidly, enjoyably, and effortlessly his study of the fathers might well read these sketches. The educated layman and the seminarian will find here not merely an experience of the Christian vitality of the fathers of the Church, but through the excellent selections from the writings of these men a spur to more extensive reading in the ever-increasing volumes of the fathers in English translation. With the author they will realize that "to know the Faith we must study not only God but men too" (p. v).

GEORGE A. EIRICH

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St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch. By Virginia Corwin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 293. $5.00.)

The development of Christian thought and theology at the beginning of the second century is a subject of great interest, and also of considerable difficulty and complexity. The present study, which is an important contribution to the field, has for its main object the exposition of the theological thought of Ignatius in relation to the religious conflicts and controversies of his own time. After a discussion of the text and transmission of the letters, which gives evidence of a sound control of the documents and the scholarly literature on the subject, the discussion proceeds to the conditions in both the civil and religious world of Antioch at the beginning of the second century. The author, in a discussion which manifests a thorough grasp of the language of the original text, treats various theological subjects as seen in the letters of St. Ignatius, notably the Incarnation, revelation, salvation, the Church, the sacraments, and the nature of the Christian life.

The methods used in this study are highly praiseworthy. The thought of Ignatius is derived from the texts themselves which are used carefully and critically. We are spared the nonsense of what Ignatius should have said or must have meant and are quite properly restricted to what he actually did say and clearly meant. At the same time the effort is made to relate the writings of Ignatius to the activities of the Judaizing party at Antioch and to the thought of the Docetist group. The discussion here seems to me particularly successful and enlightening. The attempt to utilize the documents of Qumran and Chenoboskion seems to the present writer to lead into an area which is still rather vague and unproductive. However, even on this topic the author is careful and judicious, and on Gnosticism where so many have perished in the swamps of absurdity, she is critical and sound in her judgments. In this connection the present study is particularly valuable for the critical soundness with which it treats the aberrations of the religious historical school to be found in the works of Reitzenstein, Schlier, Bartsch, and others.

Miss Corwin has written a valuable study of the thought of Ignatius of Antioch and one which is carefully and copiously documented. In doing so she has not lost sight of the man and the times in which he lived and her suggested explanations of various matters are frequently very attractive even when the evidence, as she acknowledges, is scanty. An instance of this is the interesting surmise concerning the occasion of the trial of Ignatius. The work is improved by informative footnotes, three maps, an extensive bibliography, a general index, and an index of citations; finally, the style of the presentation is a fitting tribute to Ignatius who wrote so well himself.

CHARLES P. LOUGHRAN

Fordham University

St. Edmund of Abingdon. A Study in Hagiography and History. By C. H. Lawrence. (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1960. Pp. x, 339. $9.60.)

To see in this work a vivid, intimate portrait of St. Edmund would be to misunderstand its purpose, for C. H. Lawrence's book is not an ordinary piece of hagiography. Its *raison d'être* is expressed precisely in the sub-title, "a study in hagiography and history," an attempt to present the authentic Edmund of Abingdon. The plethora of literary materials concerning Edmund, based primarily on the canonization proceedings of 1244-1246, and written in an age when good biographers were rare, has made the need of a critical examination of this material both obvious and uninviting. Heretofore, no serious attempt has been made to establish the relationship of the various biographies to one another, and the efforts to assign these works to authors have generally been unfortunate and confusing.

The first part of Mr. Lawrence's book (pp. 7-100) is, therefore, devoted to a painstaking and critical study of the authorship and interdependence of all the biographical material, i.e., the *Quadrilogus,* the life by Eustace of Faversham, the Pontigny life, Anonymous A, B, C, and the life by Matthew Paris. A comparative synopsis showing the order of contents in each life (pp. 100-105) concludes this section. Throughout, Mr. Lawrence comes to grips with the main areas of confusion and solves them in a satisfying manner, so that, in the judgment of Dom David Knowles, "in all essentials his conclusions are likely to stand" [*The Tablet,* 214 (February 27, 1960), 203].

Having worked out the hagiographical tradition, Mr. Lawrence proceeds in the second part (pp. 106-182) to delineate the authentic Edmund of Abingdon and to set him in his proper place in the history of the thirteenth century. Edmund's family background, his years at Oxford, Paris, and Salisbury, the Canterbury election and politics, his *familia,* and his work as archbishop are treated in order, with special emphasis on the inaccurate and conflicting data in the various biographies. The last days of Edmund, to cite but one problem, are wrapped in obscurity. His biographers represent the archbishop's death at Soisy as a kind of martyrdom in exile, fondly paralleling Edmund and Thomas Becket. Mr. Lawrence examines the evidence with great care and presents an entirely new interpretation, viz., that Edmund left England in 1240 for Rome to make his *ad limina* visit and to press his claims against the church of Rochester and his own chapter of Christ Church; serious illness overtook him in France enroute to Rome, and he died at Soisy on November 16, 1240, at a small Augustinian priory. This interpretation is simple and logical, and there is every reason to think that it will be accepted.

This study is further enhanced with the complete critical text of the *Quadrilogus* (pp. 187-202), the life of Eustace (pp. 203-221), and the life of Matthew Paris (pp. 222-289), five appendices, and an adequate index. Scholars will be grateful to C. H. Lawrence for his portrait of the genuine St. Edmund and will wish that the life of every important historical figure, especially the saints, might find biographers of equal merit.

ADRIAN FUERST

Saint Meinrad Seminary

The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c. 1550-1640). Edited by Anthony G. Petti. [Publications of the Catholic Record Society, Volume LII.] (London: Johns, Ltd. 1959. Pp. xlix, 278.)

The historian who studies a minor figure justifies the time spent in research and writing only if the results picture a person typical of his age or in some way related to a major event. Dr. Petti of King's College, London, after much obvious labor, has added to our knowledge of the details of Elizabethan religious history by editing eighty letters and despatches of the Catholic polemicist, Richard Verstegan (1550-1640). The materials, fortunately, were easily available in three archives in England and the Jesuit archives at Rome. Editing proved a painstaking problem; it required transcribing the difficult Elizabethan hand, translating data in various foreign languages, deciphering codes (Petti includes tables explaining the deciphering), determining correct dating (England followed the Julian calendar; the continent, the Gregorian calendar), and annotating difficult and obscure passages. Graduate students in English church history will find many valuable leads in the book and suggestions about the "underground" of contemporary Catholic life.

The letters covered the years from 1591 to 1617, most of them belonging to the first half of the 1590's. All of them originated at Antwerp. The location of this city explains Verstegan's importance to the Catholic policies of the 1590's: he was an intelligencer who collected and passed on information, trivial and important, about England and the continent in newsletters to certain correspondents, two of them being controversial English Jesuits, Robert Persons and Henry Garnet. Dr. Petti points out both the errors and the correct facts in these letters; the reader will be surprised how much authentic knowledge poured into a resident of the Low Countries about events on the continent and in England, when there was so little opportunity to test the veracity of reports.

Verstegan, although of Dutch descent, was born about 1550 in England (where the family used the name of Rowland), the third generation of his family to live in that realm. Although he studied at Oxford, he was unable to take his degree due to religion. During the 1580's, perhaps because he had printed some Catholic books secretly in England, he fled to the continent, settling permanently at Antwerp around 1587. A scholar of considerable linguistic attainments, he wrote voluminously, although nothing of first-rate order, a good part being devotional works and polemics of the times. Gradually he became reabsorbed into the life of his ancestral land, losing his exilic mentality: this marked the end of a life which mirrored both the tribulations of the English Catholics and the acrimonious quarrels over ecclesiastical jurisdiction and succession to the throne which divided them.

One must maintain a correct perspective in reading Verstegan's letters. His intense bitterness against England's rulers constantly recurs, and it is easy to feel emotionally with him and to accept at face value charges of cruelty and persecution, which prevailing conditions and the special problems facing the Elizabethan regime at least partly explain and justify. One other criticism is also in order. The proof-reading was negligently performed to a degree to constitute a real blemish in a work so evidently a labor of love.

WILLIAM R. TRIMBLE

Loyola University
Chicago

The Other Face. Catholic Life Under Elizabeth I. Edited by Philip Caraman. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1960. Pp. viii, 344.)

When Sir Winston Churchill spoke of this being the second Elizabethan age, he conjured up visions of a re-birth of military glory and a golden age in the arts usually associated with Queen Elizabeth I. Philip Caraman is a Jesuit father living in that intellectual community in Mayfair known as the Farm Street Church, and for years he has been collecting scores of extracts from sixteenth-century manuscripts and rare books which present the first Elizabethan age as an ugly and vicious religious struggle filled with horrors and hates. He has edited his anthology under chapter headings such as "Torture," "Gallows," "Persecution," etc.

Several glimpses into Elizabeth's own lusty personality and thundering passages from Robert Southwell that charge you to pass through "the storms of persecution" with the "Holy Ghost for your gale," in the language of the Apostle Paul, lend color and conviction to the two great warring camps. Whether ballads, poems, laments, or prayers, the pithy language reflects agitation and tempest, normally sorrowful, but now and then joyful and tender, such as the death scenes of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and Mary Queen of the Scots. Not only is Elizabeth insecure over her possible illegitimacy, but she fears the Other Face (as Dame Edith Sitwell called it), which Father Caraman presents to us as traditional Catholic England sinking under a tidal wave of reform. The fear that a burning "new fire" in the form of the Society of Jesus will "seize upon English hearts" spurred the enemies of the old religion into more wild barbarisms.

As with anthologies it must be read into now and then, rather than treated as a continuous story, because they are always disjointed; commendably it has a subject and persons index, biographical notes, and footnotes in the back.

HARRISON SMITH

Georgetown University

Pioneer Theories of Missiology. By Ronan Hoffman, O.F.M. Conv. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 182. $5.00, $3.25, paper.)

The mission theory of Cardinal Brancati de Laurea, O.F.M. Conv. (1612-1693), is the main subject of this brief but interesting study. The work represents the substance of the author's dissertation for the doctorate in missiology at the Gregorian University in Rome. An analysis is made of the three treatises on mission subjects which Brancati included as an integral part of his tract on *De fide* (1673). The development of mission science in the last 300 years makes many of the mission questions discussed by Brancati of merely academic interest today. But to one who is looking for reasons to explain the relative lack of mission success in the past three centuries, this book will reveal much. This is especially true since Brancati's mission thinking is compared with that of José de Acosta, S.J. (1588), Thomas a Jesu, O. Carm. (1613), and Dominicus de Gubernatis, O.F.M. (1682-1689).

Brancati's views are particularly significant since he was not only a leading theologian of his day but also a holder of many responsible offices in Rome. He was early connected with the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and became the first prefect of studies of the Urban College in 1655. His mission theory and comment reflect his scholastic and official background as well as the contemporary state of mission administration in Rome. Brancati used the scholastic method in arguing for the absolute and exclusive right and obligation of the pope to send missioners any place in the world. His argument was doubtless aimed at countering the traditional claims of the *patronato,* but his treatment is so unqualified that it must be described as "negative and incomplete" and "overly restrictive" (pp. 31-32). His view leaves no room for even an indirect part to be played by clergy and laity in fulfilling the universal mission obligation of the Church. Further evidence of the undeveloped state of seventeenth-century mission thinking, which Brancati represents, is illustrated in his explanation of mission work in terms of preaching the Gospel and saving souls rather than in its true role of *"plantatio ecclesiae"* (p. 35). Hence the cardinal never arrived at discussing such mission problems of raising up an indigenous clergy (p. 81).

The author finds Père Charles' criticism of Brancati's mission theory too severe and even superficial. An effort is made to give a more balanced picture of the cardinal's thinking by recalling the circumstances which conditioned it. This book will be of considerable help to any one who wishes to study the development of modern mission theory and practice.

William J. Coleman

Maryknoll Seminary

Le Clergé de France et la Monarchie. By Pierre Blet, S.J. (Rome: Gregorian University Press. 1959. Two Volumes, Pp. viii, 53; 468. $10.00.)

An abundance of historical material on every conceivable phase of the French Revolution has been pouring unabatedly from the presses since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Considering the cataclysmic nature of that revolutionary decade, its long-reaching influence upon modern France, and many other parts of the world as well, there is every justification for such unceasing probing on the part of historical researchers. Most periods of intensified action can only be understood adequately if the preceding period, usually one of long inaction, is first comprehended. This explains the recent increase of interest in the age of the *ancien régime,* into which Père Blet has delved in the present masterly effort.

The works of historical research published by the Gregorian University Press have accustomed us to a high level of scholarship. This new work, which forms Volumes 106 and 107 of the series Analecta Gregoriana, is a true representative of this outstanding tradition. It is not originally a Roman dissertation, however, but was prepared by its author as a project of the (French) National Committee of Scientific Research and was defended at the Sorbonne. To comprehend the later course of French history we must have a firm grasp of the relative positions of the three estates and their relationship to the crown. Père Blet does not attempt to chronicle the history of the seventeenth-century French Church; his task is both narrower and broader than that. Basically, he is concerned with tracing the assemblies of the French Church from 1614 to 1665. Opening with a highly detailed account of the 1614 meeting of the Estates-General, he presents in an equally complete way the meetings of the first estate, which took place on the average of every five years during this period. Père Blet provides a fascinating picture of the gradual tightening of the involvement of the Church with absolutist monarchy. In the beginning the clergy agreed only under pressure of circumstances to add to their traditional support of the state an additional *don gratuit.* By Louis XIV's reign the *don* had already become a regular institution and formed no small part of the crown's revenue. Throughout the entire period covered by these volumes the union between throne and altar becomes more solid with each succeeding decade. As Blet makes clear, however, the very existence of the assemblies, which were in effect miniature Church councils, gave the Church and the clergy a certain unity of objective which, at the downfall of the *ancien régime,* would seem to have enabled the French Church to maintain its existence apart from the monarchy.

Père Blet gives especially interesting treatment to certain key Church-State problems of the period: the relations between the Archdiocese of Paris and Cardinal de Retz; the clergy's relationships with Richelieu and Mazarin; the struggle against Jansenism and Protestantism. Although the assemblies were normally concerned with the temporal only, no ecclesiastical convocation of this type could long avoid spiritual matters as well. In congratulating the author on this fine piece of historical scholarship, the suggestion might be made that he continue his study of the clergy from 1665 up to the eve of the Revolution.

WILLIAM KELLER

Seton Hall University

English Influence on Early American Catholicism. By Mother Mary Peter Carthy, O.S.U. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 147. $1.75.)

Mother Mary Peter, who is already known to American Catholic historians by her monograph on New York's first cathedral published fourteen years ago, has devoted the present dissertation to a study of the English elements in American Catholicism from the beginnings to 1852. It is a subject that has been little studied except for the colonial period. Indeed, the ordinary man tends to regard nineteenth-century American Catholicism as the religion of the immigrants and above all of the Irish and to ignore its English and Anglo-American components. Yet if we take a wider view there is a remarkable parallelism in the development of Catholicism in the two countries. In both cases the survival of Catholicism in the age of the penal laws was due to a small group of wealthy landowners and to the missionary activity of the English Jesuits. In both cases the coming of emancipation was followed by a great influx of Catholic immigrants, especially from Ireland. In both England and the United States, but especially in England, the 1840's saw a considerable influx of converts from Protestantism which strengthened the national element in Catholic culture and, finally, both communities had to face recurrent waves of anti-Catholicism which reached their climax about the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet in spite of these resemblances the resultant product was remarkably different in the two cases, and American Catholics tend on the whole to ignore this parallelism and to underestimate the English element in their religious heritage.

Mother Peter has attempted to restore the balance by a detailed study of English influence in the first half of the nineteenth century. She does not by any means neglect the earlier period. In fact, her second chapter on "The Genesis of an American Catholic Tradition," which covers the years from 1770-1790, is the fullest in the volume and makes the most use of documentary material. Of the later chapters, the last one which is devoted to the Oxford Movement is, perhaps, the most interesting, for little is generally known about the wave of conversions in the 1840's, which is so closely related to the English movement which brought Newman and Ward and the Wilberforces and Manning into the Church.

On the English aspect of the period one may question some of her judgments, e.g., on the suspicion and hostility shown by the old Catholics toward the converts. This was certainly not true of the Talbots and the Howards who were the hereditary leaders of this group and whose foremost representatives were very closely linked with the newcomers, since Talbot was the great patron of Pugin and the ally of Ambrose Phillips in his schemes for Anglican reunion, while the Howards were closely associated with Faber and the Oratory. Similarly when Mother Mary Peter speaks of the annoyance of the old Catholics at the "brashness" of the converts in revealing the scandals and weaknesses of the Church in the *Lives of the English Saints,* a series which became well known in England and the United States, she surely means Faber's Oratorian series of the lives of the Counter Reformation saints which annoyed the old Catholics by the extravagances of their Italianate spirituality, not Newman's older series on the English saints which were written by Anglicans for Anglicans.

But these are minor blemishes (like the curious error in the index which places Downside Abbey at Docking in Surey). They do not affect the main thesis of the work which is concerned with the United States. Here Mother Peter is a careful and accurate historian who has made good use of the principal manuscript sources. Some readers may regret that she has not carried her study further, since she has concluded it, as it were, in mid-passage when the anti-Catholic agitation was at its height in both countries and when the new wave of English Catholic influence, originating with the Oxford Movement, was still active. No doubt, as she says, the complex social problems of the second half of the nineteenth century preclude any full treatment of this later period. But I think it would have been possible and helpful to have developed the general conclusions of the study more fully in the final chapter even though this might have involved some anticipation of later developments.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON
Harvard Divinity School

History of the American Province of the Society of the Precious Blood. Volume I, *Origins in Europe.* By Paul J. Knapke, C.PP.S. (Carthegena, Ohio: Messenger Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 251. $5.00.)

With the conviction that his community is now old enough to afford a critical examination of its origins, Father Knapke has given us in this volume, an open, frank, detailed account of the life of Father Brunner, founder of the American Sanguinists, to his arrival in Cincinnati on the last day of 1843. The author need not apologize for concentrating on Father Brunner, who like so many other priests in American history deserves a biography. Born January 10, 1795, at Muemliswil, Canton Solothurn, Switzerland, Nicholas Joseph Brunner went to the Benedictine school at Mariastein in 1809, was accepted as a monastic novice in 1812, and took the name of Francis de Sales. Professed in 1813, ordained in 1819, for ten years he was prominent in the affairs of the monastery and in the active ministry. The seclusion that he sought with the Trappists at Oelenburg in 1829 was shattered by the Revolution of 1830; the monastic reforms he planned never were realized; his assignment to the Capuchin mission in the Canton Graubuenden ended in disgrace. He closed his school at Castle Loewenberg rather than submit to state control, and the permission he so eagerly requested for an African mission was never granted. In 1834 a group of women gathered around his remarkable mother at Loewenberg to practice devotion to the Precious Blood, but it was not until four years later that Father Brunner entered the society founded by St. Gaspar de Bufalo, and proceeded to found the new branch of the community which would accept the invitation of Bishop Purcell to come to the United States in 1843.

The author laments the loss of half of Father Brunner's writings, but he has made good use of the ample remains to produce an interesting, well organized, thoroughly documented historical treatment of a man whose life reflects the confusion of his times. Footnotes are skillfully used to recount interesting explanatory data that would delay the narrative, e.g., 11 on p. 20; 22 on p. 44; 33 on p. 46; 6 on p. 80; 22 on p. 85; 3 on p. 220; 58 on p. 241. Father Brunner's intriguing *Tagebuch,* begun in 1816, is carefully evaluated (p. 28) and adroitly employed. The helpful map of an area not familiar to many Americans and the excellent illustrations add to the value of the book.

It is regrettable that a professional publishing firm did not prepare this volume, but we should be grateful to the Messenger Press for having made such an excellent work available. We could wish that the location of the archives in the bibliography might be more clearly indicated, and that the author's healthy critical attitude might extend beyond the natural (pp. 122 f., 238), but we will look forward with interest to the second volume which promises to recount Father Brunner's fifteen-year American apostolate.

LAWRENCE P. CAHILL

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Church and State in Italy, 1850-1950. By A. C. Jemolo. Translated by David Moore. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1960. Pp. vii, 344, 305. 30s.)

D. A. Binchy's *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (London, 1940)—which is curiously not cited in the exclusively Italian bibliography of the volume under review—is a book to which many modern historians feel indebted. Its author, Irish-trained and a Catholic, recognized the central importance of his theme in a country which has practically no religious minorities and where the creation of a national state involved serious conflict with the papacy. Dr. Binchy maintained a high degree of objectivity despite his deep Catholicism and his political commitment to British institutions.

The author of this volume is professor of ecclesiastical law in the University of Rome and the foremost Italian expert in this field. He published his first volume on the subject in 1914. Like Binchy, he is a fervent Catholic and an admirer of British constitutionalism in the manner of Cavour. But as an Italian who loves both Catholicism and the Risorgimento, and who has lived through the Fascist era, his volume has almost necessarily a different intonation from that of Dr. Binchy. This is further emphasized by the strong juridical tone of Jemolo's treatment which accents the legal aspects of Church-State relationships.

This book is an adaptation for English readers of the author's *Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* published in 1949. The earlier chapters have been shortened while the period since the Lateran Treaty has been expanded and brought up to date. A postscript hazards the consequences in Italian politics of the emergence of de Gaulle in France and of the elevation of Pope John XXIII. It is Jemolo's thesis that the completion of Italian unification witnessed a recovery from the wounds of the Risorgimento. An increasing number of Catholics accepted the *fait accompli* while a steadily growing body of Italians purged themselves of the poison of anti-clericalism and Jacobin rhetoric. This hopeful development was obscured by the incessant denigration of religion and the clergy in the anti-clerical journals and by a climate which made the profession of the faith unfashionable in male bourgeois circles. Thus Italians remained divided and found it impossible to work together constructively. Worse, the anti-clerical needling made it difficult for Catholics to accept the Risorgimento wholeheartedly and to recognize the menace of Fascism.

Jemolo believes that the Law of Guarantees was Italy's great achievement in the field of legislation. It was observed so scrupulously that the world at large, and the papacy itself, came to be aware that the temporal power had been a burden, and that its disappearance had substantially increased the Church's prestige and spiritual efficiency. By the mid-1920's voluntary imprisonment had become "a complaint which all knew to be without substance," and the Lateran Treaty was "a formal settlement of a difference which in fact had already been composed." The pacts were facilitated because the outward legal forms, which still meant much to the Church, had little importance to the Fascists or to the public at large. After 1929 the pope rejected the doctrinal errors of Italian Fascism and *Civiltà Cattolica* exposed its dangers and excesses. But Catholics generally were misled by the superficial concessions of the regime, by its condemnation of liberalism and Marxism, and by the Catholic memory of the offenses of the past.

The author is deeply pessimistic on recent developments. He feels that Italian Catholics still lack a serious literature and an adequate scholarship. The religious instruction of the young is wholly ineffective. His observations on the "confessional" character of the contemporary Italian state has provoked sharp disagreement. It is to be hoped that the forebodings of this sincere Catholic scholar have been exaggerated.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Ladycliff College

Monsignor Ronald Knox. By Evelyn Waugh. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1960. Pp. 357. $5.00.)

The first comment to be made on this work in a criticism written for the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is that the whole story is not told. The life of Monsignor Knox in boyhood and at Eton and Oxford is brought out with considerable detail, his years of "Armageddon" in much less detail. The remaining forty years are treated in a way we might call "sketchy." It is true that his life was not a very eventful one in the sense of events that move the public attention. It is true also that he was a reticent person and probable that the reticence of his personality extends to the sources. But it is also true that the biography appeared at a date that was, perhaps, too early for thorough research.

There has been wide comment on the fact that this life seems pretty much of an *historia calamitatum*. Only in brief golden space of youth with golden friends. Then war, the death of friends, the departure from the atmosphere of the golden age, submission to an authority that failed to appreciate him or to give him an opportunity to exercise his gifts. Graham Greene says it is "outstanding" that in the end Mr. Waugh finds a "villain" in the "meanness, jealousies and misunderstandings of the hierarchy." And others have found the story depressing as suggesting that the only successful part of Knox's life was in the brilliance of his student days. It is true that Mr. Waugh makes frequent allusions to Knox's sanctity. But he scarcely *shows* us the sanctity. And all in all the impression given of Knox's life is so highly suggestive of the personality of one of Waugh's fictional characters as to make us wonder what another writer would have done with the same, let alone with more materials.

With reference to the "meanness" that struck Mr. Greene, one story at least—that of the 50,000 lbs.—has been demolished and Mr. Waugh has made his acknowledgements. And writers more objective have tried to set the record straight on other matters, such as the obvious fact that the obstacles he found in making his translation are only the obstacles to be expected by anyone who attempts to set his originality against the accustomed and the traditional. Apropos of Monsignor Knox's ***magnum opus***, the translation of Scripture, this book is very far from critical. No one would wish to detract in mere captiousness from the achievement. No one would wish Knox's translation away. No one but would recognize here a powerful mind working on an important task. Yet there are criticisms to be made or to be answered. There is something in the objection of the professional Scripture scholars about the extreme freedom of Knox's phrases. There is also something to be said for Knox. And a writer so fine as Waugh must surely see a certain preciosity in Knox's style in the Old Testament, and especially in the Psalms. We should have been glad to hear what the biographer thought of these things.

This exists in the record: in spite of whatever official shortcomings and of whatever strangeness of his own temperament, Ronald Knox was esteemed and lionized in the Church of his adoption. It is not evident that he had it in him to make a major contribution to the philosophy and theology of his time, nor clear that he could have been a sort of Newman whether in his originality of gift or in his power to stand above obstacles. It is clear that he was immensely admired and clamored for as a spokesman of the word. Newman once said that there were souls to save even in Birmingham. And doubtless Knox must have felt much pleasure and accounted as reward the innumerable opportunities given him to bring home high spiritual values in his inimitable, poignant, and familiar way. Perhaps, the real biography will let us see this and reveal a life that was far from a failure.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT

St. Matthew's Cathedral
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Modern Catholicism. By Walther von Loewenich. Translated by Reginald H. Fuller. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 378. $9.00.)

In Germany, Protestant interest in the Catholic Church has been steadily growing. This is largely the result of the Una Sancta movement which promoted co-operation between German Catholics and Protestants during the Hitler era and has continued to function throughout the post-war years. One of the Lutheran theologians participating in these conversations is Walther von Loewenich, professor of Protestant church history in the University of Erlangen. It is his conviction that modern Catholicism needs to be explained to Protestants, and this is the reason for his new book.

The author has made a determined effort to be fair and accurate. He has carefully studied the most important papal encyclicals and quotes extensively from them. No doubt this volume will give many Protestants a closer view of contemporary Catholicism. But Catholics will soon learn that what the author finds unacceptable in the Catholic Church are its rejection of modernism or dogmatic relativism, its opposition to the new philosophy of existentialism and the new theology, its veneration of the Blessed Virgin, its defense of papal infallibility, its reliance on tradition. He cannot accept the Mass as a sacrifice, the virgin birth, the Catholic teaching on original sin, the promises in mixed marriages, the censorship of books, the jurisdictional power of the Church, or what he styles power politics. These objections will not surprise Catholic theologians, and they indicate that a sincere Lutheran theologian still has fundamentally the same difficulties in understanding the Catholic faith as his predecessors.

For the readers of this journal the most important chapter will be "Rome and the Reformation," in which the author gives a highly critical and informative analysis of Catholic writing on the Reformation and on the life of Martin Luther. He points out the weaknesses and prejudices which Lutherans find in the writings of Johannes Janssen, Heinrich Denifle, H. Grisar, Paul Reiter and J. Simon. More recent Catholic scholars such as Francis Xavier Kiefl, Sebastian Merkle, Anton Fischer, Andreas Biglmair, Conrad Algermissen, Adolph Herte, Johannes Hessen, Eric Przywara, and Joseph Lortz give a picture of the Reformation and of Martin Luther which Lutherans can recognize and which they are willing to discuss. The writings of these recent authors are based upon documentary evidence and such meticulous scholarship that they have prepared the ground for fruitful discussions between Protestant and Catholic theologians.

The English translation by Reginald Fuller occasionally falters as when he writes: "Only an entirely unhistorical way of thinking, such as is found in *Mystici corporis,* which credits the Jesus of history with omniscience, could regard Jesus in this sense as of the Founder of the Church" (p. 153. (Cf. also pages 166, 171, 363.) The book is completed by an adequate bibliography, list of encyclicals, index of names and of subjects. It is sad to reflect that despite his laudable intentions the author has misunderstood Catholic teaching in many respects. This should be a warning to Catholic scholars to study carefully the doctrines of those separated from us so that in our conversations with them we do not give false interpretations of their faith.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Joseph's Church
Libertyville, Illinois

AMERICAN CHURCH

The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., or, the Man Who Never Turned Back (1713-1784). By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. Two Volumes. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1959. Pp. x, 448; viii, 508. $12.00.)

Junípero Serra, founder and first president of the Spanish missions in California, is a figure so compelling, so highly endowed with the rare qualities of heroism, devotion, and driving purpose, so great in his achievement, that his life has offered an irresistible fascination for biographers. As was to be expected, these accounts have been of very unequal quality, the majority marked more by poetic enthusiasm than by critical scholarship. Father Maynard Geiger, at long last, has produced in these volumes a work that can stand on its own merits as a careful historical reconstruction of the life of the great Franciscan. He has, moreover, succeeded in combining exacting scholarship and lucid writing to a degree that will make his volumes as pleasing to the general reader as they are acceptable to the student.

Any biography of Serra must, perforce, rest upon the original pioneer account written by his friend and companion, Fray Francisco Palóu, under the title, *Relación histórica de la Vida y Apostólicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra,* a new and fully annotated translation of which was published by Father Geiger in 1955. In addition to Palóu's data Father Geiger has brought together materials drawn from all the important archives and source collections of the United States, Mexico, Spain, and Italy. The list of manuscript sources alone covers sixty pages in the appended bibliography, and many of the citations are to *expedientes* which include a large number of individual documents. The research, carried on personally by Father Geiger through extended travels over a period of some twenty years, would appear to be as exhaustive as might humanly be expected. Certainly no important source bearing primarily on Serra's career has been slighted.

The use made of this mass of data has been judicious and painstaking. The depth achieved, in consequence, goes far beyond anything hitherto attempted. The detail is all here for every important aspect of the life of the saintly Franciscan from his birth, through his period of training and apprenticeship in Spain, Mexico, and Baja, California, to his climactic labors in the New California which were interrupted only by his death in 1784. The story that emerges is well rounded and satisfyingly full. It is, of course, never possible to guarantee that an historical reconstruction will be in every respect definitive, but, so far as one may venture a judgment of this sort, the biographical portion of the present work may be said to merit the designation. It is unlikely that anything very significant will be added to Father Geiger's portrait of Serra, or that the account of his missionary labors will be modified substantially by scholars in days to come.

A word remains to be said about the physical appearance of these fine volumes. They meet in every respect the high standards we have come to expect from the Academy of American Franciscan History in proofreading, full indices, maps and illustrations, and handsome binding.

EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

University of Santa Clara

Their Brothers' Keepers. Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865. By Clifford S. Griffin. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 332. $6.00.)

This study of organized benevolence begins with an intriguing premise. It is Professor Griffin's contention that the Calvinist concept of the elect remained a dominating factor long after the Puritan era had passed. He seeks to demonstrate this thesis by an examination of national societies concerned with reform and benevolence: the American Home Missionary Society, the American Bible Society, the Sunday School Union, and the American Tract Society. In such prominent Protestant agencies he finds a leadership imbued with the conviction that they are stewards of God and trustees of the Lord. The "stewards" are equally convinced of their own superiority and of their duty to help the less enlightened. They are suitably grim and dour, self-righteous, and determined. The parallels, social, political, and intellectual, are, indeed, striking and, as far as they go, valid.

Unfortunately, what emerges from the author's treatment of this analogy is more caricature than historical portrait. The stewards become repulsive creatures lacking any redeeming graces. They are bigoted, economically selfish, inspired only by conceit. That such men existed in any numbers, surpasses belief. If Professor Griffin had examined the stewards' theology instead of dismissing it out of hand as "rudimentary," if he had conceded that fundamental religious truths were more than "a particular Protestant interpretation of the gospel," and if he had controlled his distaste for "these would-be overseers of their brethren's conduct," his work would be more impressive. He would have us believe that philanthropy stems only from misanthropy, not love; that the stewards' concern for the financial welfare of their societies is proof of their religious insincerity; and that their willingness to use political action on behalf of morality is reprehensible. Much of the evidence presented for these views is of doubtful relevance. There is, e.g., no necessary cause and effect relationship between conservatism and benevolence. To show that the stewards were of a Federalist persuasion politically reveals little of their motives as philanthropists. It demonstrates only that they generally belonged to the mercantile classes whose interests were served by the Federalist Party. As businessmen too, the stewards might be expected to have an anti-labor bias, to laud the virtues of wealth, and to take a practical view of society finances.

When Professor Griffin is not denouncing the stewards and contents himself with describing the operation of benevolent societies, his book is of some merit. These organizations have been neglected heretofore, and his study of them, especially as they functioned at the local level, is of value. His thorough research is commendable, his style competent. It is to be regretted, then, that he has impaired a contribution to history by writing a philippic against philanthropy.

John L. Morrison

Mount Saint Mary's College
Emmitsburg

Catholic Viewpoint on Church and State. By Jerome G. Kerwin. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. 1960. Pp. 192. $3.50.)

Professor Kerwin has often had the task of explaining the Catholic viewpoint on Church and State to his non-Catholic university confrères. One senses in this small volume not only deep study and long meditation but also a warm personal geniality. Some Catholics become impatient when they are asked to explain how they can be loyal citizens of the United States. Some of this impatience is excusable because no official interpretation of the American civic traditions is opposed to the Catholic viewpoint on the relations between Church and State.

Kerwin does not stress until near the end of the book that there is far more co-operation between Church and State in our American political tradition than has been recognized by most writers on the subject. Total separation as demanded by some opponents of the Catholic position would mean the enforcement of a negative religious faith which is as much out of harmony with the Constitution and its amendments as would be the imposition of any positive religious denomination on the American people.

Among the best features of this small volume are the quotations from the theory of Pope Gelasius and the account of the development of this Gelasian theory through the Middle Ages. By the time of Pope Gregory

VII the relationship between the clergy and the lay rulers had become complicated by the feudal regime, but Gregory was not insisting on a new doctrine. St. Thomas' doctrine Kerwin finds to be a moderate one, which would give the pope only indirect power in temporal matters to be exercised only when necessity required it. He also notes that the canonists of that period claimed a more absolute power for the pope. Kerwin hints here the influence of the revived Roman law. Following the reintroduction of Roman law in the West, some later popes followed the canon lawyers in claiming absolute power. The closer followers of Roman—and pagan—law held to the unity of Church and State but generally considered the Church just one of the organs of the state. Marsiglio of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis* was the classic example of this. With the break-up of the mediaeval political unity the Church found itself hampered in the new nations. Even in Catholic countries under this idea of Church-State unity the new secular ruler claimed superior power. Some Protestant and Catholic writers challenged this state absolutism, and the chief exponents of this Catholic viewpoint were the Jesuits, Bellarmine and Suarez. To them the Church is a perfect society, and the pope's authority is of divine origin and superior to that of the State in the spiritual order, but the pope has no direct power in the temporal order. The power of the rulers in the temporal order comes from God but through the people.

The American theory of Church-State relations is derived from the English chiefly through the Puritans and levelers. The English were not of one mind on this matter, nor were the English who came to America and founded the United States. Among these Englishmen were Roger Williams and Leonard Calvert, acting for his brother Cecil Calvert. Many of the leaders of the American Revolution and the founders of the new nation were not Christians, but the idea of total separation was not their idea. The constitutional religious provisions were written to protect the religious rights of all, not to hinder them.

The later chapters of the book discuss the confused controversy over Church-State issues which continues to the present day, and the book concludes with a discussion of interfaith relations in the United States. There are, as Kerwin points out, no easy solutions to the problems of religious and public education, of the maintenance of public morality and mutual tolerance, and of similar issues. He has stated the Catholic position, which is different from other positions chiefly in the difference between Catholic doctrine and non-Catholic doctrine. Catholics and non-Catholics can agree in maintaining moral order and can also agree on objecting to those who would destroy that moral order. For the rest mutual understanding and respect are essential. Most Roman Catholics are happy under the present American law and would not, even if they could, change it. That is the basic opinion and belief of most American Catholics on the relations between Church and State.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life. Edited by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 248. $4.50.)

This volume is the product of two symposia held, one in October, 1957, the other in February, 1959, at the University of Notre Dame. Nine essays in the first half of the book concentrate on the position of "Roman Catholicism in Twentieth Century America." Ten essays in the second half deal with various aspects of immigration, past and present, which have influenced the continuing development of American Catholicism.

Some book reviewers are inclined to criticize symposia of any kind as simply collections of uneven contributions. In this case the triteness of the observation does not disprove the rule. The essays under review range in length from barely five undocumented pages of Winthrop Hudson's surface-skimming "Protestantism in Post-Protestant America" (a phrase of undoubted comfort to devotees of the *Register* newspaper chain) to more than twenty-eight pages of Aaron Abell's plodding, heavily-documented analysis of "The Catholic Factor in the Social Justice Movement." A majority of the papers run ten pages or less, an apportionment suitable for presentation before a live audience, but one which leaves little freedom for sustained development of material which badly needs investigation. The editor, Father McAvoy, publicly deplores the lack of "serious studies of many immigrant Catholic groups"; it is regrettable that, prior to publication, some of the essays were not substantially revised to meet this deficiency.

The most penetrating contributions to the volume appear to be Raymond Bruckberger's essay on "The American Catholics as a Minority," a good example of this French Dominican's wit and realism, Jerome Kirwin's "The Catholic Scholar in the Secular University," Joseph Fichter's "The Americanization of Catholicism," a sociological analysis by the well known Jesuit, and Saul Alinsky's "The Urban Immigrant." Mr. Alinsky's comments on the possibility of Catholic influence on and participation in interracial community life are disturbingly pessimistic. The essays by Will Herberg and Colman Barry, O.S.B., are apparently warmed-over condensations of their previously published work; the essays by Willard Wight and Vincent De Santis briefly synthesize previous studies on immigration. Father Gilbert Carroll's "The Latin American Catholic Immigrant" and Monsignor Aloysius Wycislo's "The Polish Catholic Immigrant" are cursory glances at important topics. Judge Juvenal Marchisio's essay on "The Italian Catholic Immigrant" bogs down in a litany of nationalistic boasting and concludes with a hysterical *non-sequitur.*

ROBERT E. QUIGLEY

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A Roman Catholic in the White House. By James A. Pike. (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1960. Pp. 143. $2.50.)

This book is concerned with "the real positions the Roman Catholic Church takes and to which it expects its members to adhere. The basic question is: are there any beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church which might impede the power of a President to fulfill his high office in accordance with American traditions?" (p. 32). The last word here should be "constitutions." What traditions? Whose traditions? Where can the statement of the relevant traditions be found for comparison with any examinable Catholic positions and beliefs?

Since Dr. Pike was formerly a Catholic, writes with evident intent to be fair and accurate, and has many admirable passages in his book, many people might be led to accept his erroneous assumptions and interpretations, and consequently doubt that American Catholics can be loyal citizens under our system of constitutional democracy. His two chief errors are fundamental misconceptions: a) that the statement "error has no rights; only truth has rights" is a Catholic principle; b) that the Catholic Church has two "official," conflicting views on "Church and State"—one bad and the other good. The bad one is preferred by Bishop Pike as apparently more "official" than the good one.

Probably the best known expression of the theory that "error has no rights; only truth has rights" is in Ryan and Boland's *Principles of Politics* (pp. 318-321; Macmillan, 1943). In discussions of Church and State where this idea usually appears, the rights referred to are, as expressed in constitutions and laws, necessarily *civil rights,* which belong to citizens, and which governments are powerless to take away. Neither truth nor error can possibly have such rights; only persons have civil rights. Clearly expressed, enforceable rights cannot be given to abstractions. Youth, beauty, courage, truth can have no rights. But both young and old people have rights, as do the beautiful and the homely, the brave and the cowardly, those who believe in the truth and those who believe in error. So this old formula cannot possibly be a Catholic principle, nor a valid principle of any kind.

The theory of two opposing views, one an interpretation of the other, is probably the most confusing aspect of this book. Any interpretation of any passage in language has to be a possible, literate meaning of the actual language being interpreted. To substitute language meaning something that is not covered by the original passage, is not interpreting: it is "amending by substitution"—a quite different parliamentary operation.

In his chapter on "Church and State" Bishop Pike asks (p. 42), "Is the Roman Church content to find itself in a nonpreferential status in any country?" He at once seems to answer both "Yes" and "No," with emphasis on "Yes." "In short, the official position (but not the only one—see Chapter Four) would seem to be that the Church will grant equality to other religions where it is forced to do so by the fact that it is a minority; but that when it is numerically strong enough, it has a positive duty to begin to shape the State to suit its own ends."

The Church does not grant or deny equality to other religions in the various countries; only governments grant or deny such equality. The idea that all governments of countries having a Catholic majority in their populations give monopolistic favors to the Catholic Church is absurdly untrue. It is proved false by Belgium, Ireland, Luxemburg, the province of Quebec, the State of Rhode Island, and a number of Latin American states. The Catholic Church has been given such a status in Spain, Italy, and in some Latin American countries. The Lutheran Church in Scandinavian countries, especially in Sweden, has probably had the most rigid code of exclusive government favor known in the Christian world in recent times. When America proclaimed the principle of no exclusive governmental favor to one religious group, it enunciated a new, political principle. Since the early Americans were almost all from the British Isles, they were necessarily rebelling against "an establishment of religion" as they had known it in the Anglican and Presbyterian establishments of England and Scotland. The nine establishments in the colonies were either Anglican or Congregational. When the Catholics were in large majority in Maryland, Catholicism was not established; freedom and equality were granted to all. When the Catholics lost control the Anglican Church was promptly established.

The position which Bishop Pike prefers to think of as "the official position" (even though not the only one!) is that the Church should be established in exclusive union with the State. This is obviously contrary to the provisions of all American constitutions, federal and state. The second "position," strangely called in this book an "interpretation" of the first, is totally irreconcilable with the first. It is an embodiment of the American constitutional provisions on the relation of government to religion, which Catholics helped to write, forbidding "an establishment of religion" and proclaiming the "free exercise of religion."

Obviously there are two quite different positions held by Catholics (and also by Protestants) on the best provisions for the relation of government to religion. But this does not mean that the Church teaches two opposing "positions" to *both* of which Catholics are expected to adhere. It means that the Church does not teach political science or government, and that Catholics may adhere to either of these two positions, or to others—as they have been doing at least since 1789. On any specific political question there are probably always at least two positions to be found among American Catholics, even among American Catholic bishops.

The political theory which Bishop Pike calls the "American Interpretation" is completely opposed to the theory he prefers as *the* "official position" of the Church. It has been upheld by American Catholic bishops from 1789 to 1960. The Catholic hierarchy in 1948 proclaimed, in accord with the statements of individual bishops from John Carroll down to 1948, their support "with deep conviction" of the "original American tradition of free cooperation between government and religious bodies—cooperation involving no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen. We solemnly disclaim any intent or desire to alter this prudent and fair policy of American government. . . ."

If this position is contrary to official, fundamental Catholic doctrine, then most of the 500 and more Catholic bishops in our country have been heretics. And that ought to take a bit of proving.

JAMES M. O'NEILL

Lakeville, Connecticut

GENERAL

Political Thought: Men and Ideas. By John A. Abbo. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 452. $5.75.)

This volume is intended as an "introduction to the study of the evolution and growth of the principal issues in the history of political philosophy." So runs the purpose stated in the introduction to the work. In five sections it covers the period from Greece and Rome to modern times with an excellent introduction to each period summarizing its chief characteristics. A special chapter deals with American political thought and an appendix with "Catholic Principles of Politics." Obviously within the space of 450 pages one should not expect to find more than a survey of the great political thinkers. E.g., the complexities and difficulties met with in the interpretation of Rousseau's writings are not covered, nor the influences, subtle and profound, which came out of the French Revolution. Monsignor Abbo, however, does not neglect the broader movements of thought in each of the five periods he treats of, thus in the modern period he deals with liberalism, utilitarianism, idealism, positivism, socialism, and other important schools of thought.

While it is true that in a work of this kind a selection of the writers chosen will always omit certain authors whom specialists in the field of political philosophy would normally expect to find, it may not be unreasonable to point out that some omitted or briefly treated are most significant. Descartes, it is true, was not primarily a political philosopher, but his influence on the thinking of the Enlightenment was very great. While Hume is briefly treated, his influence on much of modern thinking in its rejection of natural law deserves fuller treatment than Monsignor Abbo gives. The most widely used textbook in political theory today is written by a scholar who has frankly admitted that he is a follower of Hume. The difference between Anglo-Saxon liberalism, inherited in this country, and continental liberalism which has infected political thinking in Europe might well be highlighted with great benefit to American Catholic students. The significant lack of anti-clericalism in that same Anglo-Saxon tradition might also be noted. One is happy to see that the author does not strain himself to show mediaeval and Catholic influences in American political thought. As inheritors of the intellectual tradition of the West, such theories in their original or developed forms existed among the founding fathers, but too much effort has been expended from time to time on the influence of a copy of Bellarmine in Jefferson's library.

Along with the use of original sources, lectures, and discussions this work should be a valuable aid to the student, and particularly helpful in tying a course together or in providing excellent review material.

JEROME G. KERWIN

University of Chicago

ANCIENT

A History of Israel. By John Bright. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 500 [plates]. $7.50.)

The remarkable progress in our knowledge of Israel's history is due primarily to archeological discoveries, but these discoveries have not all been interpreted in the same way, especially as regards Israel's early history (Genesis to Josue). This division of opinion is reflected in two excellent works which dominate the field, e.g., M. Noth's *Geschichte*, and John Bright's long-awaited work. Noth allows practically no knowledge of biblical figures in the patriarchal and Mosaic periods (beyond 1200 B.C.). By form-critical and history-of-tradition methods, Noth holds, we can separate the great themes of the Pentateuch and recognize that all the elements which join these themes, e.g., the figure of Moses, are secondary and artificial. Bright reacts vigorously against this skepticism and insists on the general validity of the broad lines of the "confessional" reconstruction of history as found in the Pentateuch. This is far from being a fundamentalist and uncritical acceptance of the biblical traditions. Bright, in company with such different scholars as Father de Vaux of the Ecole Biblique and Cyrus Gordon of Brandeis University, insists on the historicity of the patriarchs, basing himself on the material from Nuzi and the various ancient legal codes. This argument does not prove the historicity of each event in the patriarchal narratives (in this respect, each unit must be judged separately); but it does show that there is a valid historical memory behind the Pentateuchal traditions. If the Pentateuch as it now stands is far from being contemporary with the events it relates, nonetheless, we now see that it rests on trustworthy traditions, preserved orally and also in writing.

Mr. Bright, a former student of W. F. Albright, acknowledges that without the latter's encouragement he might not have finished this book. His indebtedness to Albright is evident throughout, particularly in the very difficult question of the sequence of Ezra and Nehemiah. He emends the Hebrew text at Ezra 7:7 to fix the arrival of Ezra at 428 (instead of 458 or 398), some seventeen years after Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem, and in a valuable excursus he discusses the various reasons for and against the current theories about the arrival of Ezra.

This volume is a completely up-to-date and knowledgeable survey of Israel's history from the patriarchs to the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt in 165 B.C., and it is to be highly recommended. The work concludes with a selective bibliography, subject and biblical indices, chronological charts, and sixteen colored maps with a geographical index.

ROLAND E. MURPHY

The Catholic University of America

MEDIAEVAL

John, King of England. By John T. Appleby. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1958. Pp. xv, 319. $5.00.)

This welcome life of the enigmatic John Lackland is written for the general reader. It contains neither bibliography nor footnotes.

The author writes interestingly of the controversy over the election of Langton, of John's submission to Innocent III, and of Runnymede. In doing so he tries to bring out the reaction of each side and shows how the conflict over legal rights became bitter because of the personalities involved and of the way each side tried to assert its rights.

In the contest over Langton's election the author stresses the fact that Langton was a close friend and adviser of Philip Augustus—John's bitter enemy—and, therefore, John's rage on learning of Langton's election. While recognizing Innocent III's obvious talents as a canon lawyer, he seems to believe that Innocent was too rigid and uncompromising, and misinformed as to the true character of John. For some reason which is not made clear Innocent, who knew Langton and urged his election to Canterbury, was unable to understand Langton's position on the events which led to Magna Charta. John's submission under duress and his crusader's vow made Innocent a blind supporter of John in his contest with the barons. Even when Langton went to Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council, after his suspension by the pope, Innocent was apparently unable to see the archbishop's moderate position.

Actually there were two serious problems in England the solution to which does not seem to have been found by either the barons, the king, or the pope. One was the increasing cost of government which could no longer be financed by the traditional sources of revenue, and the other, the need to find some way to check John's abuses of power. John's claim for a scutage payment on his return from Bouvines was legally in order, but his insistence on it at this time united the oft-mistreated barons. Langton took the side of the aroused barons in their attempt to curb royal abuses. But the barons' idealism was clouded by their unreasonable yearning for the feudal independence of earlier years. And John was unwilling to admit any need for accounting for his extravagance and misdeeds. As the author views the crisis Innocent failed to see the slippery character of John, who was insisting on his rights and who managed to get Innocent on his side so that the king could continue his wrongs as well. The legal-minded pope, not recognizing the wisdom of Langton's attempt to find a practical constitutional check on John, condemned Magna Charta and suspended Langton. With such strong personalities involved a gradual adjustment to the changing times became impossible and Langton was overruled.

Despite his agnosticism, his cruelty, and oft-expressed contempt for the Church and its laws John confessed his sins and received the last sacraments before his death. With all his faults the author considers John an energetic, industrious king who worked hard to rule England.

"He tried to transmit to his heirs the prerogatives and authority of a king of England unimpaired by the encroachments of Pope and barons . . . and to the best of his ability he did it."

At times the author's descriptions of the times are excessive. Such a statement as "Practically everyone heard Mass every day as a matter of course" is obviously unrealistic. One might question likewise the characterization of mediaeval English vicars as having a stipend "so low they could barely live on it." Brian Tierney's careful study of this very question in his *Mediaeval Poor Law* (pp. 91-97) seems to deny this.

James A. Corbett

University of Notre Dame

Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations. By Deno John Geanakoplos. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 434. $7.50.)

Mounting interest in Byzantine affairs reflects not only the attraction which east Mediterranean and Balkan art has for the present generation, but the sober realization of historians that European diplomacy is inextricably connected with the Byzantine foreign office. One of the key episodes in the long drawn out duel between Latins and Greeks is the recapture of the city of Constantinople in 1259 by the Byzantines and the rehabilitation of the empire under the astute Michael VIII, the founder of the Palaeologan dynasty which was to rule the east Roman Empire until its final downfall in 1453. Knowledge of thirteenth-century Mediterranean history is still patchy, but the increasing output of specialist work during recent years has made it possible for Professor Geanakoplos to piece together the complex fragments into a more integrated general picture. His book on Byzantino-Latin relations during the reign of Michael VIII (1258-1282) will be indispensable for any study of thirteenth-century history, superseding the brief and not altogether satisfactory pioneer study by C. Chapman, *Michael Paléologue: restaurateur de l'empire byzantine, 1261-1282,* (Paris, 1926).

Professor Geanakoplos traces Palaeologus' defeat of the Epirot-Sicilian-Moreote alliance at Pelagonia and the victory of the Nicaean kingdom in the struggle to regain the capital from the Latins. The Byzantine re-occupation of Constantinople was followed by the strengthening of the Palaeologan house against its archenemy, Charles of Anjou, particularly by means of diplomacy; this included the important negotiations with the papacy for ecclesiastical reunion, culminating in the Council of Lyons (1274) where the Byzantine legates abjured the schism, although the union was rapidly repudiated by the Greeks at home. Finally the closing years of the reign saw the Sicilian Vespers and the downfall of Charles of Anjou.

Diplomacy and warfare figure prominently, but the author also keeps in mind ecclesiastical and social relations between Greeks and Latins and, indeed, considers that the widening cleavage between the two is the main underlying theme of his book. Within his terms of reference he gives an excellent account of the period. His approach is a leisurely one, accompanied by full discussion of events and problems. His material is divided into a series of short sub-sections, a method which does, however, result in a somewhat disjointed presentation. He generally makes excellent use of available sources, some of which have previously been insufficiently exploited, e.g., the orations of Manuel Holobolos, Michael's official court orator. Here and there he might have been less indecisive, e.g., on the date of the battle of Pelagonia, where one misses from the usually generous footnotes the essential reference to D. M. Nicol's article (p. 47). And in a work particularly concerned with Greco-Latin relations it would be appropriate to refer to P. Lamma's outstanding contribution in this field, especially when discussing Comnenian antecedents (cf. p. 209, n. 72, where only L. Halpen is cited).

Professor Geanakoplos has provided an admirable guide to much of Michael VIII's work. But as he himself occasionally hints (pp. 210, 369), there is another side to Palaeologan policy which would include Michael's attitude toward Asia Minor and the extent to which his program in the East was bound up with his western policy. Any full appraisal of Michael VIII must necessarily consider how far he neglected his Asian lands and allowed the defenses of the Lascarids to fall into disrepair. Perhaps, in a subsequent edition Professor Geanakoplos could reduce the length of some of his more leisurely discussions, and in the space thus gained fill out the story to give us that complete account of Michael Palaeologus which he is so well able to provide.

JOAN M. HUSSEY

University of London

The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Manorial Records. By Richard W. Emery. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 202. $4.50.)

This succinct monograph, with basic text and useful appendices about equally distributed, gives a well substantiated picture of the economic activities of a Jewish community in a growing southern French town under Aragonese and Majorcan rule at the height of the Middle Ages. Although the surviving seventeen notarial registers on which it is based are only a fraction (perhaps 1/45) of the original total, they are probably representative, according to Emery. From them the author estimates that there were probably about 100 Jewish families (300-400 Jews) residing in Perpignan at this time. He also concludes that the majority of these Jews—practically all of them, in fact—obtained their livelihood from money-lending. They were very rarely found in any other occupation than money-lending, seldom purchased real estate, and even provided in their wills that money left to their widows and children be lent out at interest. Most of the money-lending Jews of Perpignan seem to have been recent immigrants, who already had some capital, and who came to this booming town because of the superior opportunities it offered for making more loans at higher rates of interest. They performed a useful economic function and loaned money to all kinds of people. Many of their loans were probably of a smaller, pawn-broking nature, which would not show in the notarial registers, although the latter contain ample evidence of their larger transactions. The legal rate of maximum interest, twenty per cent, usually indicated for these loans does not seem exorbitant, and may have been clandestinely increased with good cause in many cases. Money was scarce, potential returns from much more secure investments such as rents were high, and the Jews incurred many expenses and risks in connection for their loans. They had to pay highly for royal protection, and besides the fact that they sometimes lost out entirely because of defaulting debtors, they often had to compromise with ungrateful borrowers who often summoned them into ecclesiastical courts, which still regarded these activities as usurous. Many of the recorded loans and a large part of the money lent went to Christian businessmen and entrepreneurs in the surrounding villages. Several of the latter were themselves budding financiers, who were soon to supplant the Jews as moneylenders, so that by the later Middle Ages the latter were reduced to much less prosperous circumstances.

Dr. Emery's work is well written, scholarly, logical, and lucid. Occasional summaries lighten the reading. It frankly admits the tentative though probable nature of its conclusions from the seventeen notarial registers. It should probably have included a few introductory paragraphs concerning the history of Perpignan and, perhaps, the Jews in general during the period. The question might be raised as to whether the policies of prevailing governments had any bearing on the presence and activities of the Jews in Perpignan.

DANIEL DOYLE MCGARRY

Saint Louis University

MODERN EUROPE

The Sir Thomas More Circle. By Pearl Hogrefe. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 360. $5.75.)

If St. Thomas More and the men of his circle were alive today they might be just the people to introduce to commencement and baccalaureate speakers who, according to a national magazine, managed to develop a mood of "gloom, doom, and disdain" as they addressd American college graduates of 1960. While More and his associates disdained, indeed, the weaknesses and errors of their age, they reached confidently into a classical and Christian past to frame a pattern of principles and hope for the reform of society. Dissatisfied with things as they were in Church, state, and society, More, Erasmus, Colet, Vives and others of this extraordinary group refused to lose themselves in gloom. Without hesitation or bitterness they attacked shallowness, sham, superstition, and disorder of all sorts and turned the keen edge of their irony and wit to the business of making things better.

Scholars or men of affairs, these critics of the early sixteenth century built a remarkably consistent program which had principles so reasonable and so fundamental that they practically shout for attention today. This program is the main concern of Professor Hogrefe. The author limits herself to a rather rigid format and it is one of her fine accomplishments that she does so without destroying the lively flow of thought and language. As careful in its scholarship as Part I, Part II, which deals with secular drama, might well have been published as a separate essay for several of the plays examined belong to a later period and do not bear a clear imprint of the Thomas More circle.

The first two-thirds of the book, however, are a delight to read and offer a refreshing antidote to "gloom and doom" thinking. Miss Hogrefe notes that More, Erasmus, Vives, Colet, etc., were not particularly original in their ideas. She believes that they aimed at and actually achieved a "synthesis, a critical selection of ideas best suited to the regeneration of Christian civilization" (p. 246), ideas they drew from the teachings of Christ and the greatest classical philosophers. Part I examines the ideas of the More circle under six heads: nature and the law of nature, the bases of true nobility, religious reform, law and government, education in general, and education of women. More and his associates defined the good life as the "life of wisdom, virtue, piety, and service for the public good" (p. 249).

Accepting most of the mediaeval ideas of nature and natural law, More's group set virtue, rather than wealth or blood, at the basis of true nobility. To reform religion they proposed an emphasis on the essentials of Christianity, careful textual examination of Scripture, simple and clear preaching. For law and government they recommended the application of Christian principles. Many of the most intriguing thoughts the author reports concern education: teachers were underpaid (or felt they were) in the sixteenth century; the rod should be spared in favor of motivation to study through rewards and proper encouragement; not all children should attempt a liberal education; they should be tested for aptitudes; the less talented should receive training in a trade; the rich should help finance the education of the poor; physical exercise has its place; women should be educated in more than the domestic sciences; the basic assumptions in education are man's perfectibility and his freedom of will.

This excellent, scholarly study has a real value, particularly for all who are interested in education.

MAURICE F. REIDY

College of the Holy Cross

Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth. By Conyers Read. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1960. Pp. 603. $10.00.)

"Our judgment of the rights and wrongs of the matter [the Jesuit Menace] will probably be determined by our religious affiliations" (p. 255). This observation by Mr. Read in his splendidly pedestrian account of Queen Elizabeth and her faithful mastiff will no doubt impinge itself on any review of the period, the personalities, and the book. As a son of Loyola the present critic approached this formidable work with a certain challenging misgiving, wondering how the author would handle, for instance, the execution of Blessed Edmund Campion and the "Jesuitical" plottings of Allen and Parsons. Frankly he handled the whole affair well. Campion is made the victim of Cecil's bitter determination to shore up a shaky Tudor regime by the charge of "traitorous conduct to Her Majesty" by Campion, Elizabeth's former "darling" of Oxford, while the sinister shadows of Allen and Parsons flit across the scene, English and European, with all the trappings of the proverbial cloak-and-dagger routine of the era. Read comes up in his pages with another Jesuit, one Sander, to whom he attached the sobriquet of the "noblest of them all."

William Cecil, Baron Burghley, was Elizabeth's first minister for forty years; he was an early riser and a prodigious worker; in fact, he seems to have done little or nothing else than work, according to Read, except for his queen. The end result, therefore, of this intensely documented, fairly readable, and encyclopedic endeavor is page after page of somewhat monotonous minutiae combined with a frustrating sensibility of having tip-toed through some woefully stuffy Victorian parlor, dust-filled and crawling with knick-knacks. None of the principals seems alive to the momentous times in which they played major roles, but rather like puppets on a string of swirling events pulling them now this way, now another. Cecil, a third-generation civil servant to serve the Welch-born Tudors, no doubt had a cyclonic effect on his country's role in Reformation England, and he played a decisive hand in such critical episodes as the Spanish question, the official attitude on what should be done with Catholics and dissidents, the internal security of the realm, and the manipulating of power politics so dear to the heart of all English prime ministers. According to Read with a touch of Winston Churchill's prose, Cecil's determination to go through with the execution of Mary Stuart was "his finest hour." This, obviously the most controversial issue evoked in the pages, is handled with soundness and reliability. In fact, the strength in Read's book is his handling of matters political. For from the pages emerges Burghley the faithful, ardent, one-minded, adroit servant, civil and personal, with a longing and determination to out-Wolsey Wolsey and whose epitaph might well be the wards of the bard from Avon a bit in reverse, "I have served my Queen with no half-measures, and I have not died naked to futurity."

L. Berkeley Kines

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Philadelphia

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. Volume II: *July, 1768-June, 1774*. Edited by Lucy S. Sutherland. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 566. $12.00.)

The second volume of Burke's correspondence (of a projected ten volume series, the last being an index) contains 253 letters, fully annotated, 110 of them, evenly divided between those written by Burke and ones addressed to him, are published for the first time. The period covered corresponds approximately to that of the second parliament in which Burke sat. As was the case with the first volume in this series, Burke fails to emerge as a great letter-writer. He wrote as a rule only when it was necessary and usually for an essential purpose. Yet the fulness of his mind was such that he often wrote at considerable length and occasionally with sustained flashes of his customary brilliance. The letters are heavily political in character and touch largely on the principal issues of the day.

It is clear from the correspondence that Burke's stature in the nascent party of the Rockingham Whigs was growing swiftly at this time, but the once widely held view that he was his chief's alter ego in political matters, and that he was his party's principal idea man, is patently untenable. It is, however, equally obvious that his was a position of no small consequence within the party circles since he was, perhaps, "the most distinguished speaker in the Commons." Not only was he widely known within parliament but out of doors as well, a point attested to by his selection as their colonial agent by the New York Assembly. Militating against this wide reputation were the handicaps of his Irish origin, his inveterate want of temper, his having written for a livelihood, and the fact that he was considered *arriviste* (he personally took pride in describing himself as a *novus homo* because he recognized the envy generated by that character).

One of his manifold party duties was to keep in close touch with various City of London interests. Burke was among the first to grasp the importance of calling in the merchants to redress the balance whenever it was politically expedient. He was further employed to clarify policy points to persons with whom Rockingham lacked time to converse. He was also active as a negotiator with other groups on the party's behalf.

As a man of letters, he enjoyed considerable fame both in Britain and abroad, and his literary talents were often put to the party's service in drafting petitions and circulars (he was, however, no hack), as a critic of draft pamphlets, and in the framing of letters. In 1770 he composed a famous party manifesto, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents,* which "can claim to be one of the greatest pieces of political writing of the century."

This volume is most revealing in the light it sheds upon Burke's private life and also his extremely complex personality. There is a foreshadowing of that respect for the aristocracy which many then mistook (and still do today) for sycophancy and tufthunting. Even more important, his fierce spirit of personal independence and his strong belief in his own ability may be seen. His loyalty to family and friends and his generosity to the unfortunate are frequently illustrated. On the less attractive side of his character, such facets as his ultra-sensitiveness to personal slights (real or imaginary), his unwillingness to accept criticism, and his blindness to the faults of his kinsmen may be readily detected.

Miss Sutherland, principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, is to be commended for the excellence of her scholarship. The most painstaking kind of care characterizes every page of this superb piece of editorial work.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Political Reason of Edmund Burke. By Francis P. Canavan, S.J. (Durham: Duke University Press, for the Lilly Endowment Research Program in Christianity and Politics. 1960. Pp. xvi, 222. $5.00.)

Like most great writers in the history of political ideas, Burke has been the object of many changing and extreme interpretations, and especially so because he set little store by clear and distinct ideas. On the one hand, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Harold Laski, and others have traced Burke's philosophical pedigree to David Hume, or to the Utilitarians, or to a standard of pragmatism and convenience. In response, Father Canavan has presented a powerful argument for the prudential judgment as a reasonable judgment, and as the expression in practical reason of an intelligible order in the universe. Such an order has signified the existence of an eternal law, an enlarged morality, and the defense of the natural rights of men grounded in a social order that is conventional. Order is itself the work of reason.

Father Canavan's contribution is precisely as his title indicates: the Burkean uses of reason. For Burke focused on the practical and prudential reason rather than the abstract, situationless, doctrinaire, and speculative reason; he repudiated especially the ideas of Price, Priestly, and Paine (pp. 106 ff.), and their ilk, the metaphysicians of the French Revolution. The author explores Burke's early education in philosophy and moral theory, and he shows the connections between Burke's ideas and those rooted in the Christian and western tradition. He uses new materials and letters, which are now becoming known in the contemporary revival of Burkean studies. The volume is published as part of the Lilly Foundation Research Program in Christianity and Politics, under the distinguished direction of Professor John H. Hallowell.

This volume, like most discussions of Burke, centers finally on his use of history and historical institutions, his attitudes toward reform and revolution, his classic but all but inescapable theories of representation and public opinion, and the controverted assertion of natural rights. Burke was no adulator of mere history, but of a social order made in history under divine Providence, which conforms with the prudential principles of practical reason. A final notation: there are few members of Congress who would not agree with Burke in his address to the fortunate electors of Bristol that their primary duty is to give their voters suitable attention, the benefit of their knowledge, and their informed judgment concerning the general welfare. Likewise, there are few who would deny that our natural rights are embedded in our prescriptive and conventional constitutional order (pp. 118, 134, 148).

Francis G. Wilson

University of Illinois

The Religious Problem in English Education: The Crucial Experiment. By James Murphy. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 1959. Pp. 287. 35s.)

The experiment treated by Mr. Murphy was to determine whether children of all religious faiths might be educated together in publicly owned elementary schools and was carried on in Liverpool from 1836 to 1842. It began when the Liberals took over the Liverpool town council in the municipal elections of 1835 and its education committee, dominated eleven to one by the victors, set out in the following year to modify its restrictive educational policy. Motivated by the desire to provide an education at public expense for all children unable to attend private schools, and equally determined that this education should include as an integral part of the school day, elements of religious instruction and prayer, the committee adopted a modified version of the Irish national education system. By this arrangement, which had been inaugurated in Ireland in 1831, all children received moral instruction in common each day, and were separated on one or two days of the week to study their particular doctrinal tenets under the supervision of their own ministers or persons appointed by them. The unique feature of this plan, one which was intended by its originators to break down ill feeling between Protestants and Catholics, was what later came to be called the "Irish Scripture Lessons." These were readings excerpted from the Douay and Authorized Versions of the Bible accompanied by notes and commentaries, all of this with the full approval of the Catholic and Protestant authorities. The "Irish Scriptures" were used by all the children each day, while the versions particular to their creeds were read during the hours of separate doctrinal teaching. As put into use in 1836 at the two Liverpool corporation schools, the modified plan provided all the children with moral instruction, hymns, prayers, and the "Irish Scriptures," and set apart one hour each day within the regular schedule to be devoted to separate dogmatic lessons offered by priests and ministers. Professor Murphy shows that Catholics, although they were not extensively consulted about the plan, approved it, their children being the chief beneficiaries, and that they even continued to attend the schools after a Roman rescript of 1841 had described such accommodations as "very dangerous."

The Established Church, however, was very much in opposition. By twisting phrases, quoting out of context, promoting massive "The Bible and Nothing But the Bible" campaigns, and carrying on wide debate in the public forum and the politically sensitive press of the day, the Conservatives, ably led by several energetic clergymen such as the Reverend Hugh M'Neile, nearly upset the arrangement in its first months. But the plan weathered these initial blasts, and was roundly accepted. In 1838, when the possibility of setting up a national system of education began to be discussed, the Irish system came under serious consideration due in some measure to Lord John Russell's familiarity with the Liverpool experience. The antagonism of the Establishment was greater in England as a whole than locally, however, and this discouraged Russell from backing the plan fully. Liverpool itself lost out when the general political sentiment waxed toward conservatism, and the influence of the Liberals was cancelled in the municipal elections of 1840 and the year following. A new set of school rules, imposing the Authorized Version on all children, but permitting Catholics and Protestant dissenters to withdraw from Anglican doctrinal classes, was put into force in January, 1842, and all the Catholic children were immediately withdrawn from the corporation schools. They did not return in a few months, as the Conservatives had anticipated, and the experiment was over.

Professor Murphy's detailed account of these exciting years, while not tapping any extant correspondence between ecclesiastical leaders over the experiment (if there is any), is painstakingly built upon a wide base of manuscript and newspaper sources, and draws upon many published works, most of which can be regarded as primary materials. He definitively unfolds the complicated story, here and there offering corrections of local histories which have treated the experiment rather shabbily. Readers familiar with the development of American public education will be impressed with the conviction shared by the English churchmen, politicans, and educators of the day that religion must thrive as an organic part of the curriculum of tax supported education. These men regarded the equivalents of "released time" and the "neutral school" as dangerous and even ridiculous, and the attempt to level doctrine to a common denominator as abhorrent to the people generally. American readers will also appreciate the advantages that their own system of benevolent separation of Church and State has to offer. The clergy of the Church of England in the 1830's were sincerely convinced that error, such as that they labelled "popery," had no right to exist and, therefore, no right to be encouraged. The leaders of the state were equally aware that the general progress of the country was to be measured in direct proportion to the diffusion of common education. Somewhere between these two ideological landmarks, and the rights of individual conscience, the Liverpool plan was dashed apart in the recurrent maelstrom of blind intolerance that the political climate of union not only makes possible, but at times generates.

At the present time, while "released time" and the "agreed syllabus" have become a part of Britain's educational law, the act of 1944 preserves the tradition of an integrated religious curriculum to the extent that it prescribes worship and doctrinal instruction for all tax supported schools. Professor Murphy also notes with quiet triumph that in Liverpool itself the one remaining corporation school is attended only by Catholics, and employs Catholics to teach the doctrines of the Catholic Church, while being financed completely by public funds. One leaves his excellent book with the feeling that such events as he has related could not have happened in the United States, not only because of the greater tolerance which is indigenous to its political system, but, perhaps, more proximately, because the educators and politicians who founded public education here did not hold such strong convictions on the place that religion merits in the preparation of children for life.

JOHN WHITNEY EVANS

Cathedral High School
Duluth

The Irish Novelists, 1800-1850. By Thomas Flanagan. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 362. $6.75.)

The Irish Writers, 1880-1940. By Herbert Howarth. (New York: Hill and Wang. 1959. Pp. v, 318. $4.50 [hard]. $1.95 [paper].)

Professor Flanagan selects for discussion five authors who were as interested in explaining Ireland to themselves as they were in interpreting their country to British readers. As they combed the tragic Irish past and present in their search for identity, the writers attempted to answer this question: what is the Irish nation? To Protestant Maria Edgeworth, Ireland was the preserve of the courageous, witty, hard-drinking, and improvident Protestant gentry. Another Protestant, Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson), supported an aristocratic Ireland that was a romantic blend of the virtues of the Gaelic chieftains and the Anglo-Irish gentry. John Banim and Gerald Griffin, representing the emerging Catholic middle class, glimpsed that the bitter, impoverished, and illiterate Catholic peasantry most accurately represented the Ireland of their time. But it was the renegade Catholic and the genius of the group, William Carleton, who wrote about his own peasant roots and provided readers with the most authentic portrait of pre-famine Ireland.

According to the author, the "incestuous" relationship between literature and politics destroyed this early literary movement. The attempt to serve political ends made literature "rigid and brittle," and the course of Irish affairs embittered young writers. In silent frustration they watched hopes for their country dashed by British rule, "demagogues and clowns" who represented Ireland in the House of Commons, and the influence of a "harsh and provincial church."

There are several criticisms that can be made of this book. Professor Flanagan uses some rather subjective historical sources uncritically, and there are a few inaccuracies concerning factual material, e.g., he implies too late a date on the start of the national school system; A. M. Sullivan is confused with his brother T. D.; and the extent of Protestant support for Young Ireland is exaggerated. In his discussion of the deficiencies in nineteenth-century Irish writing, the author neglects two important considerations: the inadequately educated Catholic masses were unaware of the intellectual forces that shaped modern European thought, and most educated Protestants felt no commitment to Ireland or a need to understand her. No doubt Professor Flanagan is correct when he condemns too intimate a connection between literature and politics, but perhaps he underrates the potential of race, creed, and nationality as literary themes.

But these faults seem minor contrasted to the undeniable merit and brilliance of this book. Unlike many literary historians, he never dissociates his subjects from their historical context, and this historical perspective enables him to make a major contribution to an understanding of the formative period of Irish cultural nationalism. Pre-famine Ireland has received political, economic, demographic, social, and religious analysis, but in his well written and penetrating evaluation of five neglected writers, their association with their countrymen, and serious effort to clarify and interpret the Irish experience, Professor Flanagan has added a new dimension to our knowledge of early nineteenth-century Ireland.

Herbert Howarth's discussion of the Irish literary revival presents few original ideas, but it is an excellent synthesis of previous interpretations, reinforced by the author's perceptive examination of Irish writing, and an interesting case study in cultural nationalism. He emphasizes the impact of the fall of Parnell on the imagination and latent patriotism of Yeats and his associates. They became convinced that another messiah must appear to save Ireland, and through her the world, from the corruption of Anglo-Saxon materialism. The writers of the literary movement elaborated a gospel of cultural nationalism first presented by Young Ireland in the 1840's and designed to maintain the Gaelic tradition which elevated spiritual values (both pagan and Christian) and sanctified the agrarian way of life. Professor Howarth is convinced that the literary movement inspired the revolution that finally severed the connection between Britain and Ireland, but he notes that once independence was achieved the writers repudiated the fruits of their labor. After witnessing the Irish masses pursue material objectives, elect prosaic politicians, and reject the intellectual and esthetic values of the literary movement, Yeats attacked democracy and advocated rule by an intellectual elite, and A. E. transferred his hopes for the moral regeneration of man to America.

Yeats, A. E., Lady Gregory, and to a lesser extent George Moore (he decided long before 1922 that conformist Catholic Ireland would never produce a cultural renaissance) fit snuggly into the author's analysis of Irish literary nationalism; but two of the essays concern writers outside the general pattern. Synge, a protege of Yeats and supporter of Irish home rule, refused to subordinate his talents to the myths of cultural nationalism. His peasants, compared to the ethereal creatures of Yeats, were vital and earthy and introduced realism and surrealism into the Irish theatre. Joyce by cutting himself off from the literary movement, and by embracing exile, also rejected the romantic myths of cultural nationalism. He believed that Ireland could achieve salvation by following him in a candid examination of the national conscience.

Readers will be impressed by the author's lively style, and his mastery of the content of Irish literature, but they might agree with this reviewer that he loses his historical perspective when he attributes the revolutionary movement to the inspiration of Yeats and his friends. The revolutionary period, 1916-1922, was the result of a complex variety of factors: cultural nationalism (Thomas Davis here is more important than Yeats), the Fenian tradition, the martyrdom of Pearse and his colleagues, World War I, the failure of home rule, Carson and his Ulster Volunteers, the frustrations of the urban working class, and British stupidity. The literary movement added to the content of cultural nationalism, but it was more a product than a stimulant of Irish discontent. Yeats and A. E. like Griffith and De Valera were symbols as well as shapers of their times.

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

University of Illinois

Francis Thompson. Man and Poet. By J. C. Reid. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 232. $4.25.)

In this new study of Francis Thompson, Dr. J. C. Reid, a member of the Department of English in the University of Auckland, has made an earnest effort to come to grips with a strange and difficult man, one particularly puzzling to the orderly academic mind. He has conscientiously summarized the available biographical material and has provided some stimulating literary criticism of Thompson's poetry and prose, but, even so, this is at times a disappointing and exasperating work. There is a curious undercurrent of vague hostility and depreciation that gives to the book a tone which the author may not have realized or intended. This is evidently a reaction to the extravagant praise bestowed on Thompson during the early decades of this century, particularly by some Catholic writers.

On this point Reid has some astringent but salutary things to say. Some of the early tributes to Thompson were undoubtedly prompted by sectarian pride, natural enough in the circumstances of the late Victorian period, but not excusable in terms of judicious literary criticism, and Reid can argue, often convincingly, that some of the work of Thompson was exceptionally bad verse with an artificial vocabulary and a muddled and pretentious imagery. Unfortunately, he labors the point so much that his efforts to strike a balance in the last chapter will come too late for many readers who, by that time, will have difficulty in believing that Thompson did write some magnificent poetry of enduring value.

It is admittedly difficult to assess the unusual personality and the tragic life of Thompson, but Reid is not very helpful in his treatment of the question of drug addiction. The long battle against laudanum is mentioned on many occasions and is also, fairly enough, the subject of a special chapter but, for all this emphasis, we do not receive any clear impression of the probable effect on the work of a sensitive literary artist. It is argued, with unwarranted insistence, that for Thompson the writing of poetry was a substitution for the taking of drugs during the several periods in his life when he discontinued or carefully rationed his consumption. And the dream-like quality of certain poems is attributed to Thompson's remembrance of his hallucinations under drugs, a general interpretation which seems to assign an excessive place to an external factor, at the expense of the poet's own creative imagination.

A biographical weakness in the present study is the author's apparent indifference to the Catholic environment in England in the late nineteenth century. He does not give the impression of having much interest in this aspect of Thompson's life, and, although he mentions the right names and refers to some of the appropriate contemporary events, yet the effect is rather perfunctory.

As the author now and then concedes, Francis Thompson wrote some great poetry, but the essential failure in this book is that there is so little in it which prepares the reader for that fact.

J. F. Leddy

University of Saskatchewan

Three Against the Third Republic: Sorel, Barrès, and Maurras. By Michael Curtis. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. 313. $6.00.)

The Third Republic, says our author, found itself fighting a war on two ideological fronts—against those for whom the Revolution had been calamitous and those for whom it was still incomplete. It is a lesson in the history of political theory to trace the tangled skeins of agreement and disagreement which meet and mingle in the criticisms directed against the republic from rather divergent viewpoints, from, that is, both the right and the left. With painstaking care and thoughtfully devised methodology, this is exactly what Curtis does. Three men are chosen as embodying influential yet diversely oriented critcisms, Maurras—"Catholic," doctrinaire, authoritarian, reactionary, Sorel—socialist, syndicalist, moralist, Barrès—egoist, determinist, aggressive nationalist. A study of the links between the three reveals their criticisms as basically independent.

In the light of the above the unanimity in concrete indictments of the Third Republic resulting from the three attitudes is truly astonishing. All three were militarists, nationalists (Sorel less aggressively such), anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, and, though "basically non-religious," possessed certain Catholic "sympathies." All three were capable of penetrating insights into certain real weaknesses of the republic. On the other hand, each was intellectually and politically provincial and was either quite blind to the real (economic, practical) problems or quite naive and unrealistic in their suggestions for handling them. But particularly striking and significant is the extent to which each anticipated the attitudes and criticisms of national socialism.

Although Curtis' methodology affords him the real advantage of isolating criticism of the Third Republic which is both pointed and consequential, his approach could lie open to offsetting dangers: minimizing of differences, monotony of treatment, a mere factual recital of detailed positions. It is to the author's credit as writer and scholar that he has successfully evaded these pitfalls. His clear and concise analyses, e.g., show that the attacks of Maurras, Barrès, and Sorel are rather valid against the Third Republic than against democracy itself as a political system. The index, complete classified bibliography, and notes and references at the foot of the respective pages are also worthy of commendation. There are a few printing mistakes: in one or two places, e.g., pp. 49 f., a quotation is begun and not ended; the first *it* on page 71 (line 17) should be deleted; and 1762 or 1764 would be a better date for the suppression of the Jesuit Order in France than 1767 (p. 96). Lastly, in view of the author's excellent method, his objectivity in following it, and his comprehensive familiarity with and perceptive use of his materials, one wishes that his analysis had been a bit deeper and his conclusions a bit more pointed, particularly in regard to the rather remarkable way in which the three men chosen anticipated national socialism.

WENDELL E. LANGLEY

The Creighton University

A Reappraisal of Franco-American Relations, 1830-1871. By Henry Blumenthal. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 255. $6.00.)

To fill a gap in the diplomatic history of the United States, and to throw new light on Franco-American relations "during four decades of controversy, revolution, and war," are the major objectives of this monograph. To a considerable degree the first aim is realized, but the second only to lesser degree. To demonstrate that, contrary to popular opinion, relations between France and the United States were marred by constant hostility does not represent new light to diplomatic historians. In fact, this state of affairs prevailed even during the American Revolution. Nevertheless, this work does represent an able summary of the ideological, diplomatic, and economic relations which contributed to distrust and misunderstanding between the two nations.

While the author stresses properly that considerations of power politics alienated France and the United States, he tends to force his secondary premise that ideological and religious differences affected their relations to a remarkable degree. A few illustrations should suffice to demonstrate this criticism. Napoleon III appears as an exponent of monarchism and anti-republicanism which represents an over-simplification of his complex character and policy, for during his regime there occurred the fateful attempt to fuse liberalism and conservatism which was inherited from the revolution of 1789. Judicious analysis of the differing ideologies evaluated by the author also tends to weaken his thesis. He noted that "the cause of the Union was also defended by the Liberal Catholic Party in France," and "the forms of political systems, whether identical or different, had little bearing on the determination of policies." Thus while the France of Napoleon III proved a trial to the United States, the France of the Third Republic found the United States equally unsatisfactory during its hour of ordeal in 1870. During the revolution of 1848 a strange collaboration took place which the author might have noted. According to Richard Rush, the American Minister to France, his daring recognition of the republican government received unexpected support from the papal nuncio.

In general Professor Blumenthal follows a topical approach which permitted thorough analysis of each subject. The value of the study lies, not only in its stimulating and handy summary of Franco-American relations, but also in its use of primary sources in French archives and libraries as well as printed material. Diplomatic historians will find invaluable evidence to substantiate their views concerning this period. Professor Blumenthal has attempted a fresh survey of primary sources and has revealed a critical, but not unfriendly, attitude toward previous interpretations.

ANTHONY F. TURHOLLOW

Loyola University of Los Angeles

Austrian Catholics and the First Republic. Democracy, Capitalism, and the Social Order, 1918-1934. By Alfred Diamant. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 325. $6.50.)

The avalanche of scholarly publications on Austrian political and intellectual history is an impressive testimony to the long overdue revival of interest in the specific problems of the hapless First Republic. Although the democratic constitution of 1920 reflected a balance of power between the Socialist "Lager," the Nationalists (*Grossdeutsche*), and the Christian-Social (Catholic) camp, its basic features never appeared acceptable to the episcopate and representative Catholic theorists and leaders. Being little more than an alternative to chaos, and without a sufficiently broad basis of popular consent, this constitution was, furthermore, marred by two chief defects: the introduction of proportional representation and the established supremacy of the legislative assembly. Thus lacking a firm foundation of adequate authority, Austria's "ill-constituted government" found it increasingly difficult to meet the formidable challenges of the 1920's and early 1930's while a normal or nearly normal political evolution was forestalled by the emergence of irreconcilable fronts.

The militant spirit exhibited by Catholic groups, parties, and movements in that terra incognita of democracy, their efforts and failures, cannot be fully understood without a comprehensive knowledge of the Catholic social doctrines that were evolving to combat Austro-Marxism, liberalism, and capitalism. Since the underlying Catholic social philosophy has not been given commensurate attention, especially in America, and only recently some attempts have been made in that direction, Alfred Diamant has undertaken, in an elaborate study, to assess Austrian Catholic social ideas and their impact on the destiny of a small, strife-torn nation.

"It is imperative," the author avers in the preface, "that scholars and practicing politicians get a better understanding of how the pastoral needs of the hierarchy, Catholic dogma and the theology, reason and natural law, and the position of Catholics in actual societies interact to produce a social doctrine which, in turn, becomes the foundation of political action by Catholic-oriented political parties and interest groups." Such convictions do not come over night. For more than ten years Mr. Diamant has been interested in Catholic social movements. His broad analytical presentation is, indeed, based on arduous research and admirable scholarship.

In an introductory chapter he surveys political and social Catholicism during the nineteenth century and brings into focus "the features of Catholic social thought common to European Catholics." Turning to the Austrian scene, he examines the foundations of political and social Catholicism. Among its distinctive characteristics we find an unswerving loyalty to the monarch, the enduring influence of Romantic doctrines, and the corporative traditions of the middle class. The lively controversies between the disciples of Vogelsang, father of *Sozialreform*, and the proponents of gradual reforms within the existing social framework (*Sozialpolitik*), the fragmentation of Catholic social movements, together with an ineradicable inclination to exalt the state at the expense of other social organs, largely determine the pattern of criticism, the conflicting views, and the socio-economic proposals prevalent after World War I. The most important chapters of the book (IV, V, VI) deal with the three-pronged attack by Catholic theorists on the modern state, liberalism, and capitalism. They discuss the various programs and reform projects aiming at social reconstruction, the position of the Heimwehr, and the significance of the encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*. A final chapter offers a thorough investigation of the essence and structure of the corporative constitution adopted in 1934. The spectrum of criticism comprises a surprisingly large variety of views ranging from the Linzer Program formulated by the Catholic trade unions, to Othmar Spann's utopian speculations culminating in a decentralized yet strictly controlled hierarchy. If the *concordia discors* of Austro-Catholicism provided great opportunities for practical leadership, even the greatest statesman of that period, Ignaz Seipel, one of the few to recognize that state and economy were separate spheres, failed to achieve consistency. This failure was mainly the result of his ambivalent attitude toward parliamentary institutions and his eventual reliance on the Heimwehr as the one hope for "true democracy" in Austria.

Professor Diamant's lucid analysis deserves the highest praise. Thoroughly familiar with the subject, he probes into the social psychology of the *homo Austriacus* by dissecting the relevant views and doctrines. Everywhere he displays discernment and fairness. His critical observations, many of them relegated to the copious footnotes, enhance the value of his comprehensive study.

Such an analytic survey has, however, its disadvantages. One weakness may be found in the organization of the material. The systematic approach led the author to treat the issues and themes on the basis of a topical arrangement. Thus the contributions of Vogelsang, Orel, Winter, Spann and others had to be discussed in separate parts of the volume, and a certain amount of dovetailing, overlapping, and duplication became inevitable. The author must have been aware of these methodological difficulties, for he admits that "the metaphor of the spectrum, useful in describing the varieties of criticism of democracy, breaks down in the case of social and economic criticism" (p. 157).

There is an index as well as an extensive bibliography prefaced by a short yet very instructive essay. Summing up, this reviewer is inclined to see in Alfred Diamant's excellent study something like an unintentional corroboration of Guizot's wise dictum: "Les doctrines naissent des faits plus que faits naissent des doctrines."

HANS W. L. FREUDENTHAL

College of Saint Teresa

Vienna and the Young Hitler. By William A. Jenks. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 252. $5.00.)

Adolf Hitler devoted 120 pages of *Mein Kampf* to the five and one-half years, 1907-1913, that he lived in Vienna. He stated, "In that city I received the basis of a view of life in general and a political way of looking at things in particular which later on I had only to supplement in single instances, but which never again deserted me. . . I do not know what my attitude toward Judaism, Social Democracy, or better Marxism, social problems, etc. would be today if the basic stock of personal opinions had not been formed at so early a time under the pressure of fate and of my own learning." Probably no modern leader was ever so marked or so molded by a city as was Hitler.

Yet, except for *Mein Kampf,* we know practically nothing about Hitler's experiences in these years. In attempting to meet this problem Professor Jenks adds nothing to the biographical data previously collected, and he scarcely adverts to Jetzinger's conflict with Kubizek and Greiner. Instead he describes the political, social, economic, and cultural currents in Vienna in an effort to recreate the atmosphere in which Hitler learned his basic lessons in ideology.

Perhaps, the most rewarding sections of the book are those reviewing the political scene. Hitler was interested in three political parties, viz., Karl Lueger's Christian Socialists, Georg von Schoenerer's Pan-German Nationalists, and the Austrian Social Democrats. His favorite political figure was Lueger, whom he later praised as "the last great German whom the ranks of the colonizing people of the *Ostmark* brought forth." He was particularly impressed by his appeal to the "little people" and his ability to secure the Church as an ally. From Schoenerer he took his extreme German nationalism and racial anti-Semitism, although he recognized Schoenerer's failure and was to devote many pages in *Mein Kampf* to his three cardinal errors, including his frontal assaults on Catholicism. Finally, from the detested Social Democrats he learned much of the art of propagandizing the masses.

There are chapters on a vagabond's life, such as Hitler's, in pre-World War I Vienna; on the Jewish question (the city's population was 8.6% Jewish in 1910); on the general racial conflicts; on the arts. All of these are related to Hitler's later autobiographical comments.

Professor Jenks has given us a convenient survey of life in the Habsburg capital in the empire's last days. To that extent the study is well researched and should interest the general reader and the social historian. However, nothing really new is presented, and the actual step-by-step transformation in the Viennese milieu of the future rules of the Third Reich remains largely conjectural. We still know little about the formative years of Adolf Hitler, the arch-nihilist, and greatest demagogue of his age.

WILLIAM M. HARRIGAN

Canisius College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

At the social science sectional meeting of the American Benedictine Academy, held at Mount Angel Abbey and Queen of Angels Convent, Saint Benedict, Oregon, from August 23 to 26, 1960, John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history in the Catholic University of America and editor of the REVIEW, delivered an address on the subject, "Church History in the Life of the Religious." Other papers presented in the field of history were: "American Indian Research Techniques and Sources," by Joseph Murphy, O.S.B., St. Gregory's Abbey, Shawnee, Oklahoma; "The St. Lawrence Seaway—a Chapter in Canadian-American Diplomacy," by Gerald Mesmer, O.S.B., St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, Kansas; and "From the Restoration of the Order of St. Benedict in Belgium to the Foundation of St. Andrew's Priory in California," by Thaddeus Yang, O.S.B., St. Andrew's Priory, Valyermo, California.

An academic session held on October 11, 1960, on the campus of the Catholic University of America formed a part of the commemorative ceremonies sponsored by the Capuchins of North America in honor of St. Lawrence of Brindisi, who was recently declared a Doctor of the Universal Church. On this occasion Thomas P. Neill, professor of history in St. Louis University, delivered an address on "The Apostolate of St. Lawrence of Brindisi."

At a meeting of the Mid-West Regional Council of the Association for Latin American Studies, held October 13-15 on the campus of Indiana University, Fredrick B. Pike of the University of Notre Dame delivered a paper entitled "Currents of Anti-Americanism in Chile." Dr. Pike was also elected president of the council for the coming year. At the same meeting Charles W. Arnade, this year a visiting professor of history at the State University of Iowa, gave a lecture on "The Beginnings of *ALAS* [the bulletin of the Association for Latin American Studies]."

The Third Conference on Inter-American Affairs, organized this year around the theme, "Brazil Builds for the Future," was held at Xavier University, Cincinnati, on October 22. Edward G. Goodman, Director of the Xavier Institute of Hispanic Studies, arranged a program that included such speakers as Vasco Mariz and Ronaldo Costa of the Brazilian

Embassy, José Bettancourt Machado of the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau, Manoel Cardozo of the Catholic University of America, as well as Julio del Toro and Henry Hoge of the University of Wisconsin.

The United States Catholic Historical Society observed the completion of its seventy-fifth year at the annual meeting held on November 21, 1960, at Marymount College in New York City. The Cardinal Spellman Award, consisting of $250, was presented by His Eminence to Sister M. Matilda Barrett, S.L., archivist of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, who resides at the motherhouse of the community in Nerinx, Kentucky; Sister Matilda, the first recipient of the prize which will be given each year, was thus honored for her scholarly editing of the memoirs of William Joseph Howlett, a pioneer priest of the West. The work will be published in the next volume of *Historical Records and Studies*. At the same meeting John D. Connorton, M.D., executive director of the Greater New York Hospital Association, took office as the society's new president; he succeeds George B. Fargis, who was elected to a three-year term as a member of the board of directors. James A. Reynolds, professor of church history at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, was elected vice president; Father Reynolds is also editor of the society's publications.

St. Meinrad Seminary has announced the results of the essay contest which it sponsored during the scholastic year 1959-1960. The subjects were limited to historical or doctrinal questions or persons related to any of the ecumenical councils; all major seminarians of the United States and Canada were eligible to enter a study based primarily on original sources and not exceeding 5,000 words. The first prize ($150) was awarded to Ronald E. Modras of St. John's Provincial Seminary, Plymouth, Michigan, for "Paul Vladimiri and his 'Opinio Hostiensis'"; the second prize ($100) to Martin J. Foran and William J. Koplik of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey, for "Pope Vigilius and the Second Council of Constantinople"; and the third prize ($50) to John Holley of St. Vincent Seminary, Latrobe, Pennsylvania (now a priest of the Archdiocese of Washington), for "The Council of Trent and the Vernacular Mass." Honorable mention was given to Germain Swisshelm, O.S.B., of St. Meinrad Seminary for "Newman and the Vatican Definition of Infallibility." The judges were Stephan Kuttner of the Catholic University of America, Henry G. J. Beck of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, and Frederick H. Chase of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts. The prizes were donated by the Abbey Press, St. Meinrad, Indiana, Bruce Publishing Company, the *Catholic Digest*, and *Our Sunday Visitor*. The prize-winning essays are being published in ***St. Meinrad Essays.***

The University of San Francisco announced recently that the Sutro Collection has been newly housed and made accessible to scholars. This rich collection, bequeathed to the State of California by the late Mayor Adolph Sutro of San Francisco on the condition that it remain in that city, had for a long time unsuitably been stored in the San Francisco Public Library. Then the university offered to provide space for it without charge to the state in the newly erected Gleeson Library. Now it is maintained separately from the university's own holdings, with its own staff, and with an entrance directly from the street. The Sutro Collection contains rare items on early California and American history, as well as a number of treasures in the field of English literature.

The Dinand Library at the College of the Holy Cross has recently received valuable additions to its Americana Room. One is a collection of fifty eulogies of George Washington delivered on the occasion of his death (December 14, 1799) and printed in 1800; this collection, a good representation of the notable preachers and orators of the day, includes the eulogy which Bishop John Carroll delivered in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, on February 22, 1800, the day of homage recommended by Congress. Another addition is a collection of 133 Massachusetts election sermons preached during the years 1731-1883; these are a fruitful source for the study of Church-State relations, for it was on "general election day"—originally the day for counting the votes for governor—that the invited minister spoke *ex professo* on civil and secular affairs before the governor and the legislature. Two other items among the new additions are of Catholic interest: the sermon preached at Baltimore in 1810 by William Vincent Harold, O.P., at the consecration of John Cheverus as first Bishop of Boston; and the *Eulogy of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (Philadelphia, 1833) delivered by John Sergeant at the request of the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia on December 31, 1832. Carroll, the last survivor among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, died on November 14, 1832.

The Dinand Library has also acquired two scarce volumes of nineteenth-century Catholic newspapers: Volume III (1831-1832) of the *United States Catholic Press* of Hartford, Connecticut, and Volume XI (1843) of the *Catholic Herald* of Philadelphia. There are only three libraries credited in the *Union List of Serials* with copies of Volume XI of the *Catholic Herald,* none of which is located in New England. No library is credited with a copy of Volume III of the *Catholic Press,* the first Catholic newspaper in New England. The life span of this journal is in doubt; according to the *Union List* it was "v 1-4, Jy 18, 1829-32." Actually, the first issue appeared on July 11, 1829, and according to Lord *et al., History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), it continued "until early in 1833" (II, 197). It had also assumed a more ambitious name by the start of the third volume—the *United States Catholic Press.* The Dinand Library's copy of Volume III (July 16, 1831—June 28, 1832) has been microfilmed by Micro Photo, Inc., of Cleveland. Since this company has also microfilmed the first two volumes, Volumes I, II, and III of this scarce newspaper are now available to libraries (with the exception of three issues of Volume II missing in the only available copy, which is owned by the Villanova University Library). It is hoped that the remaining issues of the journal, if it did continue beyond June, 1832, will be reported and eventually microfilmed.

The records of the Society of St. Joseph up to 1903 have been photographed on microfilm. Copies of these microfilms have been donated to the Catholic University of America, the University of Notre Dame, and the University of North Carolina. Other copies are preserved at the Josephite headquarters in Baltimore, at the major seminary in Washington, and at Epiphany Apostolic College in Newburgh, New York. The society's archives have been moved to Newburgh, and Peter E. Hogan, S.S.J., has been appointed archivist with the task of indexing and microfilming the more recent records of the Josephites.

The annual Carmelite bibliography for 1958 appears in Volume VI (1959) of *Carmelus.* Of the 716 titles listed, almost 200 pertain to the history of the order or the biography of its distinguished members, as well as to other works in these fields written by Carmelites.

A consideration of the writings of St. Bonaventure, especially the *Collationes in Hexameron,* by Joseph Ratzinger, will be of interest to metahistorians and those engaged in the study or teaching of intellectual history. Here Bonaventure appears as a pre-eminent witness to the trends in the theology of history from the transcendental notions in Augustine's *Civitas Dei* up to the apocalyptic revelations in Joachimite mysticism: Joseph Ratzinger, *Die Geschichtstheologie des heiligen Bonaventura* (Munich: Schnell and Steiner, 1959; pp. xvii, 166). See also the lengthy review by Julian Kaup, O.F.M., in *Franziskanische Studien* (XLII [1960], 66-81).

During the last few years there has been a marked interest in the history of Tudor England. In fact, the re-edition of the late Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603* appeared in 1960 and is larger by a half. Lacey Baldwin Smith has published a helpful bibliographical essay that reviews the recent results of research in this area, entitled "The 'Taste for Tudors' since 1940," *Studies of the Renaissance,* VII (1960), 167-183.

In observance of the quadricentennial of the death of Philip Melanchthon, an academic celebration was held at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, on April 19-21, 1960. Five of the papers read on this occasion have been published in the *Concordia Theological Monthly*. The August issue contains "Melanchthon the Theologian," by Robert D. Preus; "Luther and Melanchthon," by Erwin L. Lueker; and "Melanchthon the Churchman," by Gilbert A. Thiele. The September issue contains "Melanchthon as Educator," by Carl S. Meyer; and "Melanchthon the Confessor," by Arthur Carl Piepkorn.

Two notable additions have recently been made to the study of the absolutist programs of Philip II carried into effect in the new world in the name of *patronato real.* One is a letter written by Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., first bishop of the Philippines, dated July 1, 1584, to the Archbishop of Mexico City, Pedro Moya de Contreras. Published with a digest of its contents by Ernest Burrus, S.J., in *The Americas* (XVIII [July, 1960], 65-84), it lists the grievances that required solution in this encroachment of civil power on the Church's apostolate. The other contribution in this field is a monograph that reviews the theory of the royal vicariate, according to which the Spanish crown in token of papal concessions from Alexander VI to Leo X considered itself a quasi-vicar of the pope in the newly discovered countries: Antonio de Egaña, S.J., *La teoría del vicariato español in Indias* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1958 [*Analecta Gregoriana,* Volume XCV]).

In 1605 Philip III of Spain sent an exploratory fleet of three ships from Peru in search of a southern continent. The narrative of this journey which discovered *La Austrialia* [sic] *del Espiritu Santo* was written by the Portuguese pilot De Quirós. During the last century, however, a lively controversy arose over authorship in which De Quirós was made to share his distinction with the Seville poet, Luis de Belmonte Bermudez. The course of the debates and the history of this significant document are told by Celsus Kelly, O.F.M., "The Narrative of Pedro Fernandez de Quirós," *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand,* XXXIV (May, 1960), 181-193.

The issue of *Arizona and the West* for spring, 1960, is dedicated to the memory of Adolph F. A. Bandelier, 1840-1914, a Swiss immigrant to America, who spent much time in the Southwest surveying archaeological remains and writing voluminously about the aboriginal inhabitants of New Spain and the Spanish conquest. As a convert to Catholicism he enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Archbishop John Baptist Lamy of Santa Fe in his energetic research. He prepared more than a hundred articles for the 1907-1914 edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and produced a 1,400-page manuscript for Pope Leo XIII on the history of the missions in the Spanish-American borderlands.

A survey of the progress of the study of Catholicism in California during the last 110 years has been prepared by John Bernard McGloin, S.J., well known and active historian in this field: "California Catholicism's Neglected Gold Mine: A Report on Research and Writing, 1850-1960," *Church History*, XXIX (September, 1960), 344-352.

The *Dakota Catholic Action*, the official newspaper of the Diocese of Bismarck, is currently featuring an historical series dealing with the deeds of the pioneer Jesuit missionary, Father Pierre De Smet, in the upper Missouri country. The articles, based on original source materials, have been prepared by Louis Pfaller, O.S.B., of Assumption Abbey, Richardton, North Dakota.

The October issue of *American Jewish Archives* (XII, 150-194) contains an interesting account of the anti-Catholic activities of Lewis Charles Levin, who took a prominent part in the Nativist agitation of the 1840's and 1850's. Although he was born of Jewish parents, he had become an advocate of Protestantism and saw the Catholic Church as an institution dedicated to "the overthrow of Protestant rights and Protestant freedom in the United States."

Studia Croatica, a new quarterly devoted to political and cultural affairs and published in Buenos Aires, contains three articles in its first number (July-September, 1960) on the late Croatian and Catholic victim of Communism, Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac: "Affaire Stepinac," by Ernest Pezet; "El processo del Cardinal Stepinac," by Martín Aberg Cobo; and "Pastor, heroe y martir," by Ivo Bogdan (the editor of the review).

A summary of the symposium held at Loyola University, Chicago, on March 18, 1960, in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the birth of Leo XIII (March 2, 1810) is given in the October issue of *Mid-America*

(XLII, 231-243). This brief account of the principal papers read on the occasion is written by Edward T. Gargan, who gave the introductory address and served as general chairman of the symposium.

On June 11, 1960, John Tracy Ellis delivered a paper at a symposium convened at Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois, to discuss contemporary American Catholicism. Published under the title, "American Catholicism in 1960: An Historical Perspective," it appears in *The American Benedictine Review* (XI [March, 1960], 1-20); in it Monsignor Ellis points up the challenge and responsibilities facing a faith that has grown from a ghetto minority to impressive stature in the pluralistic society of the United States.

Two members of the Department of History at the University of Notre Dame are at present on leave of absence. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist and professor of history, went to Rome in mid-October to supervise the microfilming of American materials in the archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide with a view to adding them to the historical collections at Notre Dame. Father McAvoy will also gather further source materials in Europe for his personal project on the Catholic minority in colonial America. Vincent P. De Santis, associate professor of American history, is using his Guggenheim Fellowship to advance his research at the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress and in other depositories for a political history of the United States from 1877 to 1897.

George C. A. Boehrer of Georgetown University has been given a grant by a joint committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council for research in Brazil on the role of the Catholic Church in the overthrow of the monarchy (1855-1889).

Joseph Brusher, S.J., professor of history in the University of Santa Clara, was engaged in research in France during the past summer on the French Revolution.

William L. Davis, S.J., retired at the beginning of the present academic year from his professorship at Gonzaga University where he had taught since 1939. Father Davis is now living at Campion House, the Jesuit residence for men engaged in research and writing in Evanston, Illinois, where he is at work on a life of Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.

Thomas E. Downey of Seattle University delivered a paper on the "Ideologies and Individuals in Latin American Reform" panel of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies, held October 7-9 at Long Beach State College.

At the eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences held last August in Stockholm, Astrik L. Gabriel, Director of the Mediaeval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, read a paper entitled "Foreign Students, Members of the English-German Nation, at the University of Paris in the Fifteenth Century." Dr. Gabriel was also elected president for the sessions on the history of universities.

Raymond J. Maras of the University of Dayton read a paper entitled "Napoleon's Scientific Missions" at the International Congress of the History of Discoveries held in Lisbon on September 5-11, 1960, to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. During his time in Europe Dr. Maras also did research in the Vatican Library on the life and pontificate of Pope Innocent XI.

Howard R. Marraro of Columbia University, who has been Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Society for Italian Historical Studies since 1955, was made an honorary member of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano on the occasion of its thirty-ninth congress held in Naples on October 22. The honorary membership was given in recognition of Professor Marraro's efforts to strengthen the bonds of cordiality and understanding between American and Italian scholars.

Norman F. Martin, S.J., of the University of Santa Clara, spent the summer in Mexico completing a monograph on the late colonial period of New Spain. Father Martin's work, "The Reserved Instructions of the Marqués de Croix to his Successor, Antonio María de Bucareli, 1771," is scheduled for prompt publication by the Editorial Jus, Mexico City.

Frederick James Zwierlein, professor emeritus of church history in St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York, died after a brief illness on October 5, 1960. Born in Rochester on November 16, 1881, Father Zwierlein attended the diocesan seminary and was ordained to the priesthood on June 11, 1904. In the following year he went to Louvain to engage in graduate work in history under the direction of Professor Alfred Cauchie; in 1906 he proceeded to Rome to study early Christian history.

Returning to Rochester in 1907, he began to teach church history at St. Bernard's Seminary and retained that position until his retirement in 1938. Upon the publication of his dissertation, *Religion in New Netherland,* in 1910, he was awarded the degree of docteur ès sciences morales et historiques by the Catholic University of Louvain. During his professorial career and after his retirement Dr. Zwierlein wrote much and won for himself a recognized place in the annals of Catholic historical scholarship.

His principal work was the three-volume biography, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1925-1927). A smaller book, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents* (Rochester, 1946), is a sort of appendix to the McQuaid biography. His *Reformation Studies* (Rochester, 1938) bore witness to his deep interest in the origins of modern religious divisions, especially with regard to the Lutheran phase. In *Theodore Roosevelt and Catholics, 1882-1919* (Rochester, 1956) he again became a pioneer, this time in the field of Church-State relations in the Philippine Islands after the Spanish-American War. Meanwhile Father Zwierlein had also contributed articles to the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* to the Publication Fund Series of the Rochester Historical Society, and to several periodicals. At the same time he had engaged in newspaper debates over issues in Catholic history and current problems, thus heightening his reputation of being a controversial figure in American Catholic historiography.

Dr. Zwierlein was a tireless worker who let no difficulty deter him from getting to the primary sources for any historical problem that he sought to investigate. True, his method of editing documents—as in the volume of the Corrigan-McQuaid correspondence—left much to be desired, and he was likely to give rough treatment to anything that ran counter to his strong attachment to the first Bishop of Rochester. But to Father Zwierlein is owed the principal credit for having opened up and brought to light the documentary evidence for the history of American Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before his life of Bernard J. McQuaid appeared, the half century from 1870 to 1920 had been largely a closed book; but after the publication of that biography with its very full documentation, others began to think seriously of this eventful era of the Catholic Church in the United States as a period for possible research. Dr. Zwierlein had been a member of the Association since 1922.

Michael J. O'Brien, whose special interest was the history of the Irish in the American Revolution, died on November 11 at the age of ninety. His best known work was *A Hidden Phase of American History* (New

York, 1919). Mr. O'Brien was closely associated with the American Irish Historical Society of New York for many years, having served as the society's historiographer from 1912 to 1932.

Roger Baudier, historian of Louisiana Catholicism, died on November 12, 1960, at the age of sixty-seven. Besides serving as editor of *Catholic Action of the South,* weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of New Orleans from 1932 to 1949, Mr. Baudier found time for a good deal of research and writing about the Church in Louisiana. His chief work was *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939). He was made a Knight of St. Gregory in 1943 and an officer of the French Academy in 1950.

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To the Editors:

In his review of my book, *The* Correspondant *and the Founding of the French Third Republic,* in the issue of July, 1960 (pp. 230-231), Dr. Leon Bernard questions whether an adequate doctoral dissertation could be achieved by "turning the pages of a mere four volumes of a journal and reporting what meets one's eyes." I should like to correct the error which obviously was made by assuming that four years of a periodical would constitute four volumes. A more careful examination of the bibliography would have revealed to the reviewer that the *Correspondant* was published twice a month during the years included in the study, and since each issue contained about 200 pages, it was bound in quarterly volumes, making *four* for *each year.* Actually, at least twenty volumes were examined thoroughly as the basis for this study, in addition to the background reading and biographical research which it entailed. Contrary to the implication of Dr. Bernard's remark, the Catholic University of America still maintains its traditional standards for doctoral dissertations.

SISTER M. CAROLINE ANN GIMPL
Maryhurst College (Oregon)

BRIEF NOTICES

Atti del XXXVIII Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. (Milan 28 maggio—1 giugno 1959). (Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. 1960. Pp. 309.)

In 1959 the Italians began a series of meetings and celebrations that will continue through 1961 to commemorate the centenary of their country's independence and unification. This interesting volume contains the full text of the papers presented and a summary of the discussions at the thirty-eighth congress of the history of the Risorgimento which was held quite appropriately in Milan from May 28 to June 1, 1959. The Lombard city was chosen for the meeting, for a century ago it constituted the focal point of all the activity that ultimately led to the achievement of liberty and unity. Following the inaugural address on "1859 and Milan" delivered by Duke Tommaso Gallarati Scotti, Professor Franco Valsecchi set the scholarly tone of the congress with his "Europe in 1859," wherein he presented the international aspects and the impact of the diplomatic maneuvers on the Risorgimento in which major European powers had much at stake. In a paper on "Cavour," Luigi Salvatorelli examined the problems that confronted the Italian statesman during those critical years of his career. Cavour's statesmanship rested on his ability to distinguish between definitive and transitory policies and on his wisdom to determine in advance when to follow the one and when the other. There is substantial evidence to demonstrate that Cavour was convinced that a statesman was helpless unless the opportunity presented itself. Cavour was able to exploit to full advantage France, England, and Russia in order to follow his liberal principles, his parliamentary method, and his views on the self determination of peoples.

This reviewer regrets that no paper was presented on American views of the Italian Risorgimento, for, as is known, Americans followed the events that led to the political unification of the country with unselfish interest and with deep and profound sympathy. (Howard R. Marraro)

Brogan, D. W. *America in the Modern World.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Pp. 117. $3.00.)

With the twin reverses of the summit conference of May, 1960, and the cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit to Japan six weeks later fresh in the mind of every thoughtful American, this is an especially appropriate time to read Professor Brogan's latest book. For nearly a quarter of a century this perceptive and sympathetic foreign visitor has been surveying the United States and writing about it, e.g., *U.S.A.: An Outline of the Country, Its People and Institutions* (London, 1941) and *The American Character* (New York, 1944), to say nothing of numerous articles on various phases of American life published in journals both here and abroad. There can be no question about his fundamental sympathy, nor can there be any question about the acuteness of his observations. Like de Tocqueville whom he frequently mentions, the professor of political science from the University of Cambridge always sees beneath the surface of our national life, and he manages to balance his criticisms in such a way that the American reader is in the end instructed about his own country and never feels the sting of the adverse comment of a foreign observer.

The present volume contains the texts of five lectures delivered at Rutgers University in March, 1959, in which Brogan sought to assess the changed position of the United States *vis-à-vis* Soviet Russia, and the consequent effects of the latter's present power and world prestige on Americans who have grown accustomed to unchallenged supremacy. The titles of the lectures indicate their nature: "A World They Never Made," "The Challenge to American Democracy," "The Character of American Life," "American Education," "The Character of American Culture," and finally a brief epilogue. They make sober reading, and Brogan is at pains to make it evident that many comfortable beliefs and habits will have to be abandoned if American leadership is to be retained in the world. But he is never despairful of Americans' ability to measure up to the challenge, and he finds no more fitting conclusion than to ask if there is any more important task for the United States than to believe—and to act as though it believed—Lincoln's words, "right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it" (p. 117). The flaws in this very worthwhile little book are extremely few. The proofreader failed to catch the misspelling in "accommodation" (p. 16), the volume should not have been allowed to appear without some kind of index, and it is not true to say, as Brogan does, that there were colleges "of all denominations" in colonial America (p. 33). The Catholics would, indeed, have liked to open a college so that they would not have been compelled to send their sons abroad to be educated, but they were not permitted to do so by reason of the penal enactments. (John Tracy Ellis)

BOUYER, LOUIS, Cong. Orat. *Erasmus and His Times.* Translated by Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1959. Pp. 220. $3.75.)

This work is not a life of Erasmus; neither is it a history of his times. The sub-title of the French original best reveals its content: *Etudes sur le Christianisme des humanistes catholiques.* Divided into five books, Father Bouyer's volume treats the topics of the papal attitude toward the Renaissance, humanistic theology, the true interpretation of Erasmus in the light of the studies of Augustin Renaudet, the theology of Erasmus, the final stages of humanist Christianity as developed in the lives of three cardinals, Contarini, Sadoleto, Pole. The unity of the work is in its delineation of the shift from a humanist Christianity wherein Christians, not content merely to Christianize an already established humanism, were themselves from the very beginning "the real—and most venturesome—creators of humanism," to a humanism wherein Christianity, although welcome, "feels a stranger in the friendly house in whose building and adornment it has no part." Father Bouyer traces this shift from the attitude of Eugene IV and Nicholas V to that of Balthasar Castiglione through his analysis of the works of such men as Nicholas of Cusa, Vittorino da Feltre, Pico della Mirandola, Erasmus, and More. Many of his judgments are arresting and provocative, but in the light of the intricate theme the brevity of the book, especially in the final chapters, invites stricture. The chapter on Cardinals Contarini, Sadoleto, and Pole is less than five full pages; the same is true of the chapter on Balthasar Castiglione. They are entirely too skeletal for the breadth of their theme. Father Bouyer has asked a beetle to carry a freight car. Here and there errors blemish the translation. "Alexander" (p. 109) is not the English for "Aléandre" and ". . . it is more than an adjustment" (p. 211) does not correspond to the French original, ". . . ce ne pouvait être qu'un raccord." (WILLIAM V. BANGERT)

BROWN, BRENDAN F. (Ed.). *The Natural Law Reader.* (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc. Pp. x, 230. $3.50.)

Brendan Brown, the former distinguished Dean of the School of Law of the Catholic University of America and presently professor of law in Loyola University of the South, has here produced a ready synthesis of choice source material with reference to the natural law. This important subject, long neglected by secular jurists, has become of late vigorously revivified throughout the world, particularly so in the United States, both from the standpoint of neo-Thomism and its relation to law in general. This interest has been hastened by the failure of legal positivism to provide an answer to the problems which can only be resolved by reference to the essential nature of man viewed as a free, rational, and social being. Dr. Brown has gathered together in compact format material, from original sources, which indicates this trend together with appropriate editorial notes to lend sequential coherence to the excerpts. The result is a happy one. Here one has a book of almost pocket size yet consisting of 227 pages with notes and index. It is a work indispensable not only for those who have but a curious and casual interest in the subject matter, but as a quick and ready reference of basic source material for the lawyer of scholarly pursuits. It ought to be a must for law teachers, legislators, and judges—both trial and appellate. (MATTHEW F. MCGUIRE)

CASTELOT, ANDRÉ. *King of Rome. A Biography of Napoleon's Tragic Son.* Translated by Robert Baldick. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1960. Pp. xii, 396. $5.95.)

"My birth and my death form my entire history." In these words the young man who was once heir to Napoleon Bonaparte's empire described his own career shortly before his death in 1832 at the age of twenty-one. The story of that unhappy and rather tragic career is the subject of Castelot's interesting and lively biography. In 1811 the birth of a son to Napoleon and Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria, seemed to signal the establishment of the Napoleonic dynasty; at last the emperor had a male heir, christened Napoleon Francis Joseph, and officially proclaimed King of Rome, in accord with the tradition of the Holy Roman Emperors. However, little more than three years later the defeat of the father ended the child's claim to kingship, and the remaining seventeen years of his life were spent in the custody of the Austrians. Though the father abdicated in the son's favor in 1815, only the French Bonapartists were to recognize him during his lifetime as Napoleon II. It was to the interest of the Austrian court not only to keep this heir to the French Empire beyond the reach of his supporters in France, but also to destroy in him if possible all interest in his native France. Great care was taken to fashion the frail but intelligent youth into an Austrian prince, who by way of compensation was awarded the title of the Duke of Reichstadt. His early death ended abruptly whatever role history had in store for him.

Castelot has written the most complete account of the life of the unfortunate prince hitherto published, for he had access to the recently discovered letters addressed to Marie Louise by her son and by his preceptors in Austria. The author tells his story with sympathy and understanding, and with great dexterity he fits the life into the appropriate background of the period. He has chosen to write in a popular style, and this has been faithfully preserved by his highly competent translator. (CYRIL B. O'KEEFE)

Dinneen, Joseph F. *The Kennedy Family.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1960. Pp. 238. $3.95.)

Joseph Dinneen, former reporter for the Boston *Globe,* provides an intimate, detailed analysis of the history of three generations of the Kennedy family. Beginning with Patrick Joseph Kennedy, who was born in Boston in 1858, the central theme of the Kennedy family has been to do one's very best, as second place was considered failure. The career of his son, Joseph Patrick Kennedy, who became a bank president at twenty-five years of age and later ambassador to England during the early administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt, together with the extraordinary careers of his grandchildren today, indicates that the Kennedys are still living up to this motto. The key to their success appears to be the unity of the family, hard work, and tireless energy. Today these qualities play an important role behind the candidacy of Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Although most biographies of presidential candidates deal exclusively with the personality and the life of the politician, Mr. Dinneen does not permit Senator Kennedy to dominate the scene entirely. Instead the senator is presented in friendly competition with the other members of the family. As a result the reader is introduced to all nine Kennedy children. Against the background of these remarkable individuals Mr. Dinneen answers certain questions which were present in everyone's mind once Senator Kennedy became the Democratic presidential candidate. Such questions as, "How is success measured in the Kennedy Family?," "Can a Catholic be elected President of the United States?" and "What will happen if a Catholic is elected President?," provide a stimulating and dramatic story. (Robert V. Schauer)

Foster, Charles I. *An Errand of Mercy. The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. x, 320. $6.50.)

According to Professor Foster, although the United States had its origin in the milieu of the Enlightenment, the impact of that movement was later counteracted by the remarkably pervasive influence of evangelical Protestantism. This crusade reached the height of its fervor and effectiveness during the period of the "united front" between 1816 and 1837, through non-denominational activity. The movement had begun in England in 1790, largely as a counterpoise for the dangerous ideas that were drifting across the channel. In America, too, the author sees the revival as an ideological weapon of conservatism. Great attention is given to analysis of the precise relationship between the English and American evangelical operations. What emerge are identical themes, with variations.

Inevitably the book is heavily weighted with the details of organization. It was through associations like the Home Missionary Society, the Sunday School Union, and the American Temperance Society that the laity took over much of the Protestant religious activity of the time and removed it from sectarian and clerical control. Widespread use, in the period when literacy was becoming general and reading matter was still in short supply, of cheap tracts with a sentimental mass appeal is credited with much of the effectiveness of the evangelical effort.

What might have proved an unwieldy mass of source materials is handled with perception and skill in this monograph. Even without the dedication to Arthur M. Schlesinger, his influence would be apparent in a certain breadth of outlook, the casual excellence of the style, and the appreciation of religion as a formative influence. A vast chasm separates the viewpoint of our day from the ideas of these earnest leaders, and the treatment here accorded them is gently, but definitely, ironic. Yet the reader cannot but feel admiration for men and women who tried so hard to make the will of God, as they understood it, prevail. (SISTER JOAN BLAND)

GALBERT OF BRUGES. *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders.* Translated with an introduction and notes by James Bruce Ross. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 352. $6.75.)

This book is among the more successful of many recent attempts to combine the perspective and interests of modern scholarship with the immediacy and realism of an original source. Professor Ross has gone beyond the ordinary purposes, though not the length, of the translator's introduction and notes to paint a portrait in depth of Flanders in the first third of the twelfth century. Charles died leaving no direct heir, and the ensuing struggle for power involved the neighboring counts and the kings of England and France as well as the peers, knights, clergy, and burghers of Flanders. While disrupting the social order, these events also revealed it. In the County of Flanders, then little more than a bilingual collection of fiefs, status lines were surprisingly fluid. Intense piety was mixed with pagan survivals; justice often became mob vengeance.

Professor Ross' achievement is possible because Galbert, the count's notary, who kept a diary-like, day-by-day account of all that immediately preceded and followed the murder, was no ordinary chronicler. Naive, shrewd, partisan, honest, writing under the pressure of events and often deeply moved by them, Galbert wrote concisely and graphically. Although he could and did concentrate on significant matters, he had an excellent eye for those details which later historians often seek in vain. The translation, based on Pirenne's edition, is sound, smooth, and vivid. Pertinent matter from other original sources and the considerable modern scholarship, much of it revisionary, has been skillfully co-ordinated with the text. Joseph Mertens has added a brief account of the recent excavations of the murder's site, the old church of Saint Donation in Bruges. There is a useful bibliography, an index, two genealogies, a map, and plans of the church and the adjoining castle. (Roscoe Balch)

Molnar, Thomas. *Bernanos: His Political Thought and Prophecy.* (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc. 1960. Pp. xxi, 202. $3.95.)

Bernanos defies political category. Moving from youthful attachment to Charles Maurras and the Action Française to death in disillusionment with De Gaulle and the Fourth Republic, he wrote his political essays in the language of both right and left and is embraced today by both camps.

But, as Molnar shows, Bernanos always remained a loner, an independent, discarding the politico-economic ideologies of the day. For his was a world of saints and sinners, of hope and despair, in short, of humanity. And with a truly remarkable intuitive sense illuminated by the strong flame of Christianity, he perceived deeper forces moving beneath the systems. Capitalism, liberalism, democracy, fascism, socialism, communism, and technocracy were irrelevant, only masks concealing a false belief in machine progress common to all contemporary systems. This silent, inexorable force terrified him. For it seemed to herald an end to humanity, resulting in a cruel pagan dictatorship quietly moving all toward a universal "Warden State" in which rulers and ruled alike become lifeless robots confined in the web of a complex technical civilization.

Such a soulless society of mediocrity terrified Bernanos because "Mediocre people cannot sin, and are, therefore, not tragic." Humanity will die: the solution, a moral elite of modern saints bearing the burdens of humanity's sins, redeeming mankind by exposing the humanity of men to themselves.

This book succeeds in spite of itself. The total impact of Bernanos and his thought is immensely impressive. Success is achieved, however, amidst many serious defects—faulty transitions (e.g., pp. 88, 89), undocumented references (p. 97), unnecessary asterisk footnotes with proper footnotes annoyingly placed at the end of chapters, and, above all, Molnar all too often makes no clear distinction between his own views and those of Bernanos. (Robert J. Hénault)

MURPHY, JOHN L. *The General Councils of the Church.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1960. Pp. ix, 193. $3.50.)

It would have been more appropriate if the author had modified the title of this book with the word popular or some such adjective. The purpose of the book is to give a panoramic view of the twenty general councils of the Church. It was written with the forthcoming ecumenical council in mind. Father Murphy simply wished to acquaint his readers with some of the details, problems, decisions, important persons, and effects of the general councils of the Church. In so doing he hoped his reader would appreciate more fully the council now in preparation.

The author realized the difficulties of his undertaking. Actually the study of the ecumenical councils is a study of the history of the Church. In compacting 2,000 years of history into 193 pages there is always the danger of confusing the reader with a list of names, undeveloped explanations of problems, and oversimplification, e.g., the intricate problem of Church and State during the Middle Ages is characterized as ". . . a tale of the struggle on the part of the spiritual to overcome the worldly." This reviewer uses this example because besides being an oversimplification it is at the same time indicative of the interpretative spirit of the book.

In a work of this type it is quite obvious that Father Murphy could not clearly and fully expound all the problems facing all the past general councils. Some, however, are handled very well like his explanation of the various types of Arianism and the historical genesis of conciliarism. The serious student of history will find little value in a book of this kind. To the uninitiated in history it should serve as an introduction to the history of the general councils. For this reason, among others, a select bibliography would have been very useful. (JEREMIAH J. SMITH)

RECHOWICZ, MARIAN. *Sw. Jan Kanty i Benedykt Hesse w świetle krakowskiej kompilacji teologicznej z XV w. Studia nad komentarzem do Sw. Mateusza. (Rekopisy Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej NrNr 1364-1366, 1368.)* [St. John Cantius and Benedict Hesse in the Light of the Cracow Theological Compilation of the Fifteenth Century: A Study of the Commentary on St. Matthew; MSS. Nn. 1364-1366, 1368 of the Jagellonian Library.] (Lublin, Poland: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego [Published by the Learned Society at the Catholic University of Lublin]. 1958. Pp. 316.)

The sub-title indicates that this is a study of the commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, found among the manuscripts at the Jagellonian Library in Cracow, Poland. Marian Rechowicz, Rector of the

Catholic University of Lublin, had done a creditable piece of work despite the limited means at his disposal.

A requested scholarly biography of St. John Cantius brought forth this study. During the research, the *Commentarium in Sanctum Matthaeum* turned up among the acts of beatification and canonization in the cause of the saint. The author considered this commentary, because (1) it was regarded the only authentic work of the saint extant; (2) the conciliar views expressed in it almost ruined his canonization; and (3) its size would make it the largest theological work in fifteenth-century Poland.

Rechowicz's study is divided into two parts. In the first, he shows that on the basis of the evidence at hand, the commentary is the work of Benedict Hesse and not St. John. For the time being, it must be accepted that only the introductions were written by the saint, the commentary itself being the work of Hesse. The commentary in question is but a copy made by St. John. In the second part of the book Rechowicz analyzes the commentary. Before proceeding to the analysis of Hesse's work, he sketches the development of the theological commentary from the biblical form used in theological lectures. In writing this commentary Hesse used a text that descended from the *Biblia Parisiensis* of the thirteenth century. Generally, he depended much upon the scholastics in the exegetical part of the commentary, especially Nicholas Gorra and St. Thomas Aquinas. Although Hesse borrowed heavily from Augustine of Ancona, a disciple of the Angelic Doctor, in the section dealing with the *Quaestiones,* his own views influenced the selection of the problems discussed. Thus, e.g., the conciliarist Hesse could not accept the theses of Augustine in reference to the supreme authority of the pope. The method of Benedict's exegesis has only traces of mediaeval ideas, and in his exposition and *Quaestiones* he used the strict sense. A separate chapter includes the position of the academic circle in Cracow, the character of the polemics, and a discussion of Benedict's tracts against the Hussites. Another chapter is devoted entirely to Hesse's conciliar views. The basic questions treated in this section are the authority of the pope and the doctrine about the Church. The concluding chapter of the book discusses the preparation of Benedict Hesse as a scholar and author of the monumental commentary considered here.

Monsignor Rechowicz's study is written in clear, concise language and is consistent in its logic. The excellent documentation accounts for the rich bibliography on the subject, including many primary sources. The questions discussed in the commentary are arranged by chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew with a special index of names and subjects. A résumé in French is included for the benefit of wider readership. (MENCESLAUS JOHN MADAJ)

TOLLES, FREDERICK B. *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1960. Pp. xiii, 160. $3.95.)

Dr. Tolles, professor of Quaker history at Swarthmore College, has here collected a number of articles on his special subject previously published in various periodicals. More than most such collections, these articles bear re-publication. The author writes denominational history, but not in the narrow sense. He depicts his Friends acting on and reacting to Anglo-American culture during the colonial period. His opening chapters place the English and American Quakers in that "Atlantic culture." Thereafter he devotes his attention chiefly to the Friends in the colonies and their very varied reactions to problems arising from ethical questions in politics, economics, esthetics, and science. There is an interesting chapter on the reactions of the Quakers in Philadelphia to the Great Awakening, and Dr. Tolles' book concludes with a study of the cultural contributions of non-English peoples—German, Welsh, and "Scotch-Irish"—to the colony of William Penn. Written with a scholarly knowledge of colonial history and a thorough acquaintance with Quaker sources, the volume will prove profitable not merely to Quakers curious about their fathers, but to all interested in American origins. (FRANCIS X. CURRAN)

WHITE, LESLIE A. (Ed.) Lewis Henry Morgan. *The Indian Journals, 1859-62.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1959. Pp. 229. $17.50.)

His attention attracted by the striking paper jacket, the reader choosing this book for Indian lore and western travel of a century ago would not be disappointed. The perceptive eye and facile pen of the author delightfully preserved life he encountered in the West and Northwest. Mr. White has identified personages mentioned and explained passages which would not be familiar a hundred years after Lewis Henry Morgan penned entries in his *Journals.*

Like his correspondents, Charles Darwin and Karl Marx, Morgan issued sweeping generalizations which are unacceptable in their totality today. Notwithstanding, he is called "the father of American anthropology," and the worth of Morgan's work forces reference to him even to the present day. The four expeditions recorded minutely in the *Journals* were to supplement to Morgan's satisfaction the answers to world-wide questionnaires. His *Ancient Society,* first published in 1877, in part reflects his travels from Kansas to Canada from 1859 to 1862.

White regards Morgan as a severe critic of the Catholic Church (p. 222, n. 47). At least that attitude was not taken toward all its members.

Morgan's friendship with the anthropologist, Adolph Francis Bandelier, was undisturbed by the latter's conversion to Catholicism. On his fourth journey Morgan met Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, and thereafter the Jesuit missionary is frequently quoted in the *Journals,* and later they had friendly relations. (Peter J. Rahill)

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